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~~John Doe~~

~~Esq. of the~~

~~County of~~

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~~California~~

~~Witness my hand~~

A Map
of the Expeditions of
ALEXANDER^E GREAT
in Europe Asia &
Africa



Quintus Curtius

HIS

HISTORY

OF THE

Wars of Alexander.

VOL. I.

With a large INDEX.

Translated by *John Digby, Esq;*

L O N D O N:

Printed by *W. B.* for *Bernard Lintott,*
at the *Cross-Keys* between the two
Temple Gates in *Fleet-street,* 1714.

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Translated by John Digby, Esq.

L O N D O N :

Printed by W. B. for Edward Smith,
at the Coffee-house between the two
Yards Gates in Fleet-Street, 1744.

To the Reverend

Dr. *FRIEND*,

Master of

Westminster SCHOOL,

This New Translation of

QUINTUS CURTIUS,

Is most humbly Dedicated

By his

Most Obedient Servant,

to Command,

J. DIGBY.

To the Reverend

FRIEND,

Master of

Windsor School,

This New Translation of

INTUS CURTUS,

Most humbly Dedicated

By his

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to Command,

J. DICKINSON



THE
SUPPLEMENT

OF

John Freinshemius,

To *Quintus Curtius's* HISTORY of
the Life and Actions of *Alexander*
the Great.



THE Life and Actions of *Alexander*, who wrested the Empire from the *Persians*, and transferr'd it to *Greece*, have been written by many Greek Historians; whereof most were Spectators, and some Companions and Ministers of his Atchievements: And others, He himself, out of a strong Passion that his Fame should survive after his decease, appointed to transmit an account of his Exploits to Posterity. But besides, that the real Facts were truly great in themselves, the love

of Fables, which was natural to that Nation, made them deliver Accounts that bore more the air of Romance, than the face of Truth: However, they who deserve most Credit, were *Aristobulus*, and *Ptolomy*, who reign'd after *Alexander*. For after the Death of that Prince, there was no farther occasion either for Fear, or Flattery, which are commonly the Causes of corrupting the Truth of History. And indeed, who can suspect that *Ptolomy* should be guilty of fulying the Lustre of Royalty by Lyes and Fables? Moreover, since both of them were not only present at a great many Affairs that concern'd *Alexander*, but even were principal Actors in them; 'tis evident they were the best able to give the most exact and truest Relations of them. For which reason, as often as they agree in their Accounts, we have given them the Preference to all others; and when they disagree, we make choice of such particulars out of the different Materials that are left us, as, after a strict Examination, seem to approach the nearest to the Truth of Fact. And, after the Age of *Alexander*, I have observ'd, That the *Greeks* who had any regard for Truth; and particularly *Diodorus Siculus* of late, have follow'd the same Method. For such of the *Romans* as applied themselves to the composing of History, were contented with writing of the Affairs of their own Country, and neglected those of other Nations; because in giving an account of the Actions of a victorious People, their Subject abounded with materials in themselves noble, and fit for the Majesty of History, and which they thought to be of more use to the Members of their own Commonwealth than any other they could relate. And as I esteem
the

the Endeavours of those Authors to be praiseworthy, so, I hope, I shall not be blam'd, if I attempt to give my Countrymen an Idea of that King, who, in the Course of his short Life, conquer'd more Countries than any other Prince ever effected. From whence we may conclude, That humane Affairs are not guided by Chance or Hazard, but that commonly Fortune conforms herself to the Conduct of Men, and that no Felicity can be lasting, which is destitute of Virtue. I find then that *Alexander* was plentifully endow'd and furnish'd with all the Advantages of Fortune and a great Genius, that could be desir'd in a Prince, who was destin'd one day to arrive at such an extraordinary Heighth of Power and Greatness. The Kings of *Macedon* deriv'd their Pedigree from *Hercules*; and *Olympias*, *Alexander's* Mother reckon'd the Origin of her Family from *Achilles*. From his very Infancy he wanted neither Allurements nor Examples to excite him in the pursuit of Glory, nor Masters to teach him Virtue, nor Exercise to accustom him to it. For his Father, *Philip*, did by his continual Wars raise the Reputation of the *Macedonians*, who 'till then were accounted despicable, and by his Conquest of *Greece*, made them formidable every where. In fine, he not only laid the Foundations of the great Things which were done after his Death, but even a little before his decease, having resolv'd to carry the War into *Persia*, he had levied Men, gathered Provisions, rais'd Money, and, in short, had an Army ready for that Expedition; and had already opened a Passage into *Asia*, by the means of *Parmenio*. But in this very Juncture he was taken away, as if it had been on purpose to leave to his Son so great

4 Freinshemius's Supplement

Forces to carry on the War, and reap the full Glory of it, when it was finish'd; which seems to have been the Contrivance of Fortune, who always yielded entire obedience to *Alexander* alone. This Prince was so much in the Admiration of all Men, not only after he had done so great things, but even at his first setting out, that it was a Question whether it were not more reasonable to ascribe the divine original of so great a Man immediately to *Jupiter* himself, rather than mediately to the same God by *Æacides* and *Hercules*. When he went himself to visit the Temple of *Ammon* in *Lybia*, no less would content him than to be call'd his Son, as we shall shew in the Sequel. Moreover it was the Opinion of many, *That Alexander was the Offspring of that Serpent which had been seen to enter into his Mother's Bed-Chamber, and into which Jupiter had transform'd himself: That the Dreams of the Priests, and Responses of the Oracles advanc'd the Credit of his divine Pedigree; and that when Philip sent to Delphi to consult about it, he was admonish'd by the Oracle, to pay the greatest Reverence to Ammon.* On the other hand, there are those who affirm, *That all this is mere Fiction; and that there was reason to suspect Alexander's Mother was guilty of Adultery: For that Nectanebus, King of Egypt, who was driven from his Kingdom, did not go to Ethiopia, as was commonly believ'd, but went to Macedonia, in hopes of receiving Succours from Philip against the Power of the Persians, That he deceiv'd Olympias by the force of Magical Enchantments, and defil'd his Landlord's Bed. That from that time Philip had a jealousy of her, and that it afterwards appear'd this was the chief cause of their Divorce. That the very Day that*
Philip

Philip brought Cleopatra into his House, Attalus, his Wife's Uncle, took the liberty to reproach Alexander with the Baseness of his Birth, while the King himself disown'd him for his Son. In fine, That the constant Rumor of Olynpia's Adultery was entertain'd not only in that part of the World, but even among the Nations which he conquer'd. That the Fiction of the Serpent was deriv'd from ancient Fables, on purpose to conceal the Ignominy of that Princeß. That the Messenians had formerly given out the same Story concerning Aristomenes, and the Syconians concerning Aristodamas. In reality the same Report was spread abroad among our Ancestors concerning Scipio, who was the first that ruin'd Carthage; and the Birth of Augustus was in like manner thought to have had something divine in it. For as to Romulus, the Founder of Rome, there is no occasion to say any thing of him; since there is no Nation so contemptible, but derives its Origin either from some God, or the Off-spring of a God. After all, the Flight of Nectanebus does not agree with those times; for Alexander was six years of Age, when that Prince was vanquish'd by Ochus, and lost his Kingdom and Inheritance; nor is the Tale the less likely to be false, because it is reported of Jupiter. It is likewise affirm'd, That Olympias, having nothing to fear after her Husband's Death, laugh'd at the Vanity of her Son, who would needs have it believ'd that he was sprung from Jupiter; and begg'd him in a Letter, not to expose her to Juno's Indignation, seeing she had been guilty of nothing that deserv'd that Punishment. However before that time, she is thought to have been the Person that took the most pains to gain Credit to this Fable, and is said to have admonish'd

6 Freinshemius's Supplement

nish'd *Alexander* upon his Expedition into *Asia*, to be mindful of his Original, and do nothing that was unworthy of so great a Father.

But it is generally agreed, that between the Conception and Birth of that Prince, it was signified both by Prodigies and divers Presages, how considerable a Person should be born. *Philip* saw in his Sleep the Womb of *Olympias* sealed with a Ring, on which the Picture of a Lyon was engrav'd; the Memory whereof was preserv'd by the City of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, which was for a long time called *Leontopolis*. *Aristander*, ac- the ablest Diviner of that time, who afterwards companied *Alexander*, and was his chief Priest, interpreted that Dream, and said it signify'd the Magnanimity and Courage of the Infant. The same Night that *Olympias* was brought to Bed, the Temple of *Diana* in *Ephesus*, the most famous of all *Asia*, was burnt to Ashes. This was done by a profligate Villain, who being apprehended and put to the Torture, confess'd he had no other view in doing it, but to preserve his Memory by some great and memorable Act of Impiety. Wherefore the *Magi*, who were then at *Ephesus*, not reckoning so great a Misfortune from the loss of the Temple alone, but looking upon it as a pre- sage of a greater Destruction, fill'd the whole City with mournful Exclamations; *That there was a Torch kindled somewhere, which, on the like account, and from the same motive, should one day consume all the East*. It happened at the same time that *Philip* subdued *Potidaa*, a Colony of the *Athe- nians*, had news of his being Conqueror at the Olympick Games, whither he had sent Chariots, and receiv'd Dispatches of greater moment by a Courier from *Parmenio*, whom he

he had sent into *Illyrium*, *That the Macedonians had obtain'd a Signal Victory over the Barbarians.* While he was rejoycing at so good, and so universal a Success, he receiv'd the News of *Olympia's* being brought to Bed; and the Diviners confidently affirm'd, *That he who was born in the midst of so many Victories and Triumphs, should be an invincible Prince.* It is reported, that *Philip* being amazed at such a Crowd of Successes, and dreading the Envy of the Gods, begg'd of the Goddess *Nemesis*, to be contented with revenging those obsequious services of Fortune by some moderate Calamity. It is likewise recorded, *That in the City of Pella, two Eagles sat in the Threshold of the House where the Queen was brought to Bed, a whole Day; and that this was a Presage that he should be Master of the two Empires of Asia and Europe;* which was easie to interpret, after the things were come to pass. I find it mention'd also in some Authors, *That when that Prince was born, there was an Earthquake, and that great Thundring was heard, and Lightning seen in the Heavens.* The most accurate Historians tell us he was born in the beginning of the 106th Olympiad, when *Elpines* was Pretor in *Athens*, on the sixth day of *June*, which Month the *Macedonians* at that time called *Lous*. At this time, the Roman People who had subsisted almost 400 years, were engag'd in Wars with their Neighbours, and by their continual Victories, and daily encrease of Dominion were now shewing the Prelude of that Power which was by degrees to subdue the whole World.

Philip being blessed with a Son, of whom so many happy Omens made him conceive the highest Hopes, turn'd all his Thoughts towards his

Education. For being a wise Man, and a Lover of his Country, he easily perceiv'd, that all his Endeavours would be to no purpose, if he should leave an ignorant and slothful Prince behind him, to govern *Macedonia*, while things were in an unsettled State every where; and that his Glory could not be long-liv'd, if the great things he had begun, should be lost and ruin'd by the Weakness or Negligence of a Successor. Among his Letters that discreet, and elegant one which he wrote to *Aristotle*, who was then at *Athens* with *Plato*, is yet extant, and is conceiv'd in words much to this purpose.

PHILIP to *Aristotle* wisheth Health.

I Am to acquaint you, that a Son is born to me; nor do I thank the Gods so much for his Birth, as for his being born in your time. I hope that when he shall have been educated and instructed by you, he shall be worthy of us, and fit to succeed to so great a Kingdom. For I think it much better to be without Children, than to beget them for a Punishment, and educate them to the Shame and Dishonour of their Ancestors.

Nor was *Philip* mistaken; for having been long under the Direction of *Aristotle*, the effect was, that the Instructions he receiv'd from that great Master laid a Foundation for, and enabled him to perform all the great Exploits which he executed from that time. But these were the occurrences of future years. In the mean time *Leucidas*, *Olympias's* Kinsman, and *Lysimachus* of *Acarnon*, were appointed to be his Governors and Tutors. Besides these, he had one *Philip* a Physician, of the same Country, to take care of his Health;
and

and a Nurse equally happy in the temperature of her Body, and the disposition of her Mind, whose Name was *Hellanica*, the Daughter of *Dropis*, of one of the best Families in all *Macedon*. This Care that was taken to bring him up, had so good an effect, that when he was but a Child, he gave promising Hopes of his becoming that great King which he afterwards shew'd himself to be. For there appear'd a very extraordinary vigor and activity in his tender Limbs, and in all the marks of an heroick Genius he very far out-strip'd his Age. He was by Nature of a beautiful and comely Make, and despis'd Dress; saying, *That an anxious Care about adorning of the Body, was proper for Women, who had no other Gifts that could set them off to so much advantage. That if he could but be Master of Virtue, he should be handsome and fine enough.* When he grew up, there appear'd a perfect Symmetry in his Members, his joints were strong and firm; and being but of a middle Stature, he was really stronger than he appear'd to be. His Skin was white, only his Cheeks and his Breast were dy'd with an agreeable Red; his Hair was yellow, and went into a gentle Curl; his Nose was Aquiline, and his Eyes of different Colours; for his left Eye is said to have been blew, and his right very black. There was a certain secret virtue in them; insomuch that no body could look on his Countenance without Veneration and Fear. He could run with wonderful Swiftness, which he often practis'd, even when he was King, as esteeming it of great use in Expeditions; and he was often seen to run for a Prize with the swiftest Persons about him. He bore Fatigue with a Patience and Firmness that even passes Belief; and by this one virtue he

10 Freinshemius's Supplement

oftentimes sav'd both himself and his Armies in the greatest Extremities. By frequent Exercises, and a very warm Constitution, he did so purge off any bad Humours which commonly lodge under the Skin, that not only his Breath, but also what he perspir'd through the Pores of his Body were sweet, and his very Cloaths had a fragrant smell; and this was the Cause, as some think, why he was so much inclin'd to Wine and Passion. Pictures and Statues of him are yet to be seen, which were the Performances of the best Artists. For lest the Comeliness of his Face should suffer any thing from the unskilfulness of vulgar Sculptors or Painters, he strictly forbid any to draw his Picture without his order, and threatned to punish any one that should disobey it. In consequence whereof, tho' there was abundance of good Workmen, yet *Apelles* was the only Person who had his consent to draw his Picture; *Pyrgoteles* grav'd him on precious Stones, and *Lyfippus* and *Polycletus* represented him in Medals. His Governor *Leonidas* is said to have walk'd too fast, which *Alexander* learnt of him; and never was able to help it afterwards by all his Endeavours. I am not ignorant that very much is owing to Education; but I am inclin'd to impute this rather to the Temper of that young Prince, than to his accustoming himself to it; for it was impossible for one of his Ardour and Impetuosity of Spirit, not to have the motions of his Body answerable to it. And this hastiness of his, was so far from being accounted an Imperfection by his Successors, that they studiously affected it, and imitated him therein, as they did in his wry Neck, which lean'd to his left Shoulder, in his piercing Look, and high Voice,

Voice, being incapable to copy the virtues of his Mind. In reality, there were many of them whose long Lives had scarce any thing in them that deserv'd to be compar'd to his Childhood. Nor did he ever say or act any thing that was mean or base, but all his Words and Actions were equal to, or even surpass'd his Fortune. For tho' he was most ambitious of Praise, yet he did not affect to draw it indifferently from every thing, but would have it arise from things that were most praise-worthy; being sensible that the Praise which arises from mean Actions is inglorious and dishonourable, and that that Victory which is gain'd over the bravest Enemy, is so much the more noble and Illustrious. Therefore when some Persons told him, *That seeing he was an excellent Runner, he ought to list himself among those who were to contend for the Prize at the Olympick Games, after the Example of a King of his Name; and that thereby he should acquire a great Fame all over Greece:* He answer'd, *I would certainly do so, if I was to run against Kings.* As often as Philip obtain'd any signal Victory, or reduc'd any rich and strong Place, he could not conceal his Grief, amidst the Rejoycing of others: And he was hear'd to complain amongst Boys of his own Age, *That his Father would leave nothing for him and them to do, when they came to be Men.* For he lookt upon every Accession of Power and Riches to be a Diminution to his Glory, and had a stronger passion for Honour than for Wealth. He was naturally dispos'd to sleep little, and encreas'd his Watchfulness by Art. If any thing happen'd to him that requir'd serious Thought, he put his Arm out of the Bed, holding a Silver Ball in his Hand, which by its fall into a Bason, might

12 Freinshemius's Supplement

make a noise, and so disperse that heaviness which was inclining him to slumber. From his very Infancy he lov'd to worship the Gods splendidly; and one Day as they were sacrificing, he flung so much Incense into the Fire, that *Leonidas*, who was a severe and parcimonious Man, not being able to bear that Profusion, cried out, *You may burn Incense in this manner, when you conquer the Countries where it grows.* Remembering this Saying afterwards, when he settled the Affairs of *Arabia*, which produces Incense, he sent *Leonidas* a vast Quantity of this Perfume, ordering him withal, *not to be more liberal for the future, in paying Honour to the Gods, since he was now convinc'd that they did plentifully repay the Gifts that had been cheerfully made them.*

He gave early Marks of a sublime and enterprizing Genius. *Artaxerxes*, surnam'd *Ochus*, was at that time King of *Persia*. *Artabarus* and *Menajus*, both Governours of Provinces, and *Memnon* of *Rhodes*, a famous General, revolted and made War upon him; but being vanquish'd by the King's Forces, they left *Asia* and fled to *Philip*. *Alexander*, who was not then seven Years of Age, was wonderfully delighted with them, and often ask'd them Questions which had nothing either childish, or mean in them, concerning the Affairs of *Persia*; such as, *How the royal Dignity and Power were supported? What sort of Arms were used among the Persians, and whether they were valiant? Whether their Horses run well? How many Day's Journey Macedonia was distant from Susa? What kind of Life the King led, what were his Exercises and Diversions, and what was his Opinion concerning Virtue?* Afterwards, when at the Intreaty of *Mentor*, *Memnon's* Brother, whose Sister was married to

to *Artabarus*, *Ochus* had pardon'd the Exiles, and demanded them of *Philip*, *Alexander* so struck the Ambassadors of that King with the Admiration of his extraordinary Genius, at so tender an Age, that one of them broke out into these Words: *This Boy is indeed a great King, but our's a rich one.* But tho' he seem'd to owe all this to the Bounty of Nature, yet he ow'd it no less to his Education. For his Father being appriz'd, how much Advantage he himself had reap'd in the Company of *Epa-minondas*, and that he had done much greater things by his Eloquence, than by his Power; was very careful that his Son should be well tinctur'd with the liberal Arts from his very Infancy. Wherefore by extraordinary Rewards, he retain'd *Aristotle*, a Philosopher of great Reputation, to deliver to him even the first Elements of Letters. Nor was that most learned Man averse from that Task, as knowing of how much Importance it was, that a Prince who was to wear a Crown, should be rightly instructed in the Beginning; and how ridiculous a thing it was to condemn small things, without which there was no attaining to greater.

He had afterwards several Masters, each of which excell'd in his way; by which means he not only furnish'd his Mind with noble Ideas, but likewise by all kind of Exercises, brought his Body to such a Temper, that it could perform all military Exercises, and bear all manner of Fatigue: Nor was he then idle, when he seem'd to be doing nothing: For he did not so much relax his Mind by Tennis and Dancing, as prepare his Limbs for more important Exercises.

After he had attain'd to riper Years and Parts, and was become more fit for serious Studies, he was continually in *Aristotle's* Company, whom

14 Freinshemius's Supplement

his Father had recall'd from *Mytelene*, till such time as he succeeded to the Kingdom after his Father's Death, and undertook an Expedition into *Asia*. During that time, he made himself Master of every thing that was to be learn'd from so great an Instructor. He apply'd himself to the Study of Nature, with so much the more Application, as he conceiv'd more extraordinary Hopes of being one Day the Emperor of the whole Earth; and he carry'd on and encouraged this Study, with a truly Royal Mind and Cost. He commanded all those who liv'd by Hunting, Fowling or Fishing, over *Asia* and *Greece*, and every one that had attain'd to any Skill that way, to obey *Aristotle*; that so he might be the better able to treat clearly and certainly of the Nature of Animals. 'Tis certain, he allow'd that Philosopher eight hundred Talents, in order to defray the Charges of that Undertaking. And so much was he enamour'd with that Study, that he laid out Money, and bestowed Pains upon it, of which he was never like to see the Effects. An hundred Years after his Death, Deers were taken with Golden Chains about their Necks, which he had put on, to the end Posterity might judge what Credit was to be given to the Stories about the great Age of those Creatures. That he understood the more sublime Sciences, which are commonly call'd *Acroamaticks*, is evident from his Letter to *Aristotle*, wherein he complains, *That he had prophan'd their Dignity, by divulging their Principles*. Upon which *Aristotle* excus'd himself, by answering, *That those Books were published in such a manner, as that they might be reckoned not published; for that no Body would be able to understand the Meaning of them, but such as had already been*

been

been instructed in the Principles which they contain'd. When *Alexander* demanded his Books of Rhetorick, he strictly forbid him to let them come to the Hands of any other: For he was no less desirous to excel others in Arts and Sciences, than in Power and Greatness; nor could he endure that Men of the lowest Rank, should share that Glory with him. Besides, it appears from his Letters, that he studied Physick under one *Aristotle*, who was the Son of a Physician, of the Race of *Æsculapius*. But he studied that part of Philosophy so well, which teaches a Man to command both himself and others, that he is thought to have undertaken the Subversion of that vast Weight and Power of the *Persian* Empire, rather by his Magnanimity, Prudence, Temperance, and Fortitude, than by his Arms and Riches. He frankly own'd, *That he owed more to Aristotle than to Philip; for that he was indebted to the one for his Life, to the other, for that Life's being formed upon the Principles of Honour and Virtue.* Nevertheless, it has been believ'd by some, not without ground, That his Mind, which was so fired with Ambition, was yet more enflamed by the too great Value which *Aristotle* set upon Honour and Glory, which he plac'd in the Rank of things that may be called Goods; so that he not only multiplied Wars upon Wars, in order to extend his Dominions, but would needs be look'd upon as a God.

But to continue the Thread of our Story: *Aristotle* not only received great Honours and Rewards in the Reign of *Alexander*, but even in *Philip's* Life-time he had already received a vast Recompence for *Alexander's* Education, having obtain'd the Freedom of his own Country. The *Olyn-*

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thians had been *Philip's* bitterest Enemies; for bordering upon *Macedonia*, and being hitherto equal to him in Power, they could not bear, that under a warlike and cunning King, the Kingdom should receive Accessions of Strength and Riches, which were one Day like to bring Destruction and Servitude upon his Neighbours. For which Cause, as the Minds of both Parties were enflamed more than ordinarily, so the Contention was more stubborn, and the Victory prosecuted with greater Severity. *Philip* took and plunder'd the City, and laid it level with the Ground; he sold the Inhabitants, and exercised the same Severity upon all the other Towns in those Parts. *Stagira*, where *Aristotle* was born, suffer'd the same Misfortune; but that Philosopher rebuilt it with the Permission, and at the Expence of *Philip*; and when it was restor'd to its former State, he gave Laws to it, which were observ'd in it from that time. Thus the Wisdom of one Citizen rais'd that City which had been burn'd and raz'd, which the powerful Efforts of so many brave Men could not hinder from being destroy'd, when it was standing and in a flourishing State. But in what mighty Esteem *Aristotle* was with *Philip*, may be guess'd from hence: That he often admonish'd his Son to apply himself closely to the Study of Wisdom under so excellent a Master, lest he should afterwards be guilty of many things, which might be the Occasion both of his Shame and Repentance. Nor did *Alexander* ever after fail to shew the highest Respect for his Master, even amidst his most important Affairs. He had frequent Correspondence with him by Letters, and not only asked his Opinion about the *Arcana* of the *Sciences*, but also sought Remedies from him for correcting

recting his Manners. *Aristotle* wrote to him, That the best way, in his Opinion, to make both himself and his Subjects happy, was to remember, that so great Power was not given him to injure Mankind, but to do them good: That he would do well to set Bounds to his Passion, which he knew he was very subject to: That it was below him to fly out in a Passion at his Inferiors, and that he had not his Equal any where to be angry with. But at last, when Pride had got the Ascendant over him, he began to despise him; especially when he thought he was become his Enemy, upon the account of the Death of *Calisthenes*; and after, he fancy'd that *Aristotle* vex'd him with Disputes, contrary to the Precepts of Wisdom, and out of Revenge, on pretence of despising human Grandeur and Ambition.

It is certain, that a little before his Death, when *Cassander* was endeavouring to vindicate his Father from the Crimes with which he had been charged, he is said to have broke out into these Words: That he was come instructed with the Artifices of *Aristotle's* Subtilty, to evade the just Complaints of others by fallacious Quibbles; and then threatn'd to do both of them a Mischief if he found what had been complain'd of to be true; and this he pronounc'd with such an angry and stern Countenance, that long after his Death, *Cassander*, who then govern'd Greece, happening to see a Picture of *Alexander* at *Delphi*, was seiz'd with Horror and Trembling all over his Body, when he remembered the Danger he had been in. This gave Occasion to speak very disadvantageously of *Aristotle*; because it was the common Rumour, that it was by his Contrivance that the Poison which was the Cause of *Alexander's*

18 Freinshemius's *Supplement*

der's Death, was carry'd to *Babylon* in a Horse's Hoof. He was a great Lover of Musick, and practis'd it with Attention in his younger Years; till such time as his Father ask'd him in a scornful manner, *Whether he was not asham'd to play so elegantly*; whereupon he began to neglect it as an Art that did not become his Majesty. At that time being desir'd by his Musick-Master to touch a certain String according to Art, *What matters it*, said he, *if I should touch this one*, pointing to another. To which the Master answered, *'tis no matter for one who is to be a King, but it concerns one who would be a good Player upon Instruments*. He was afterwards delighted with strong and manly Musick, and had an Aversion to soft and effeminate Airs, as things by which Mens Manners were corrupted. Upon which account he was very much taken with *Timotheus*, who was very famous in that Profession; for this Man accommodating his Art to *Alexander's* Humour, did so ravish him upon some Occasions, by *Phrygian* Airs, that he seem'd all in a Transport, and actuated as it were by some divine Inspiration, and hasten'd to his Arms as if the Enemy had been just at hand. He likewise study'd Eloquence under *Anaximenes Lampfacenus*, which was afterwards the Cause of saving the City of *Lampfacum*, when *Alexander* had a mind to destroy it for espousing the Interests of the *Persians*. For beholding *Anaximenes* coming without the Walls, and apprehending that he was coming to beg him to save his Country, he swore by the *Grecian* Gods, *That he wou'd not grant what he was coming to ask*. Upon the over-hearing of which, the Petitioner who had his Wits about him, ask'd him to destroy *Lampfacum*. *Alexander* being tied by his Oath, but more charm'd by his old

old Master's Cunning, granted a Pardon to the People of *Lampsacum*. He despis'd *Comedians*, as People that dealt in Matters that had no Congruity with his Designs, and who were born for no other End but to debauch Mens Morals. Nor did he value Gladiators or Fencers, tho' they were in great Esteem all over *Greece*, perhaps because he look'd upon them as idle Fellows, who pamper'd their Bodies, and gave themselves up to shew Tricks upon a Stage, instead of employing their Strength and Activity in the Service of their Country. But he was a great Encourager of all other Arts, and even of such as had never come the least in the way of his own Studies. For which reason, all that esteem'd themselves excellent in any Art, came flocking to him from all Parts of the World, and either presented him with some Piece of their Ingenuity, or some Specimen of their Art; for which they commonly receiv'd immense Sums from a most liberal and munificent King, whose Fortune was equal to the Largeness of his Soul. He likewise sent rich Presents to such as were remarkable either for great Learning or Virtue, in the remotest Parts; which was the Reason why there appear'd at that time so many learned Men, and excellent Artificers, insomuch that scarce any Age ever abounded more with useful and fine Arts. For nothing is more certain, than that the Manners and Studies of Subjects are formed according to the Example of the Prince; and that all the Decays that happen to States, are to the Honour or Disgrace of those who govern.

Of all the Monuments of Antiquity, he had the greatest Esteem for *Homer*, who he thought was the only Person that had perfectly describ'd that Wisdom by which Empires subsist; and had such

a Pas-

a Passion for him, that he was called *Homer's Lover*. He was wont to carry his Books always along with him; and even when he went to Bed, he put them and his Sword under his Pillow, calling them *his military Viaticum, and the Elements of warlike Virtue*. He esteem'd *Achilles* to have been happy in finding so great a Man to celebrate his Virtues.

Having found a most curious Cabinet both for Matter and Workmanship, amongst the Plunder of *Damascus*, and his Friends having ask'd him, *What Use it was most proper for?* he answer'd, *We will dedicate it to Homer, since 'tis but reasonable that the most precious Monument of human Wit, should be preserv'd in the finest Piece of Workmanship.* From hence the most correct Edition of that Poet, which *Alexander* was at much Pains to get, was call'd the *Edition of the Box of Perfumes*, because in that Cabinet the *Persians* had us'd to keep Odours and Perfumes. One Day as a certain Messenger of good News run towards him, in all haste stretching out his Right-hand, with the highest Marks of Joy in his Countenance, *What News can you tell me,* says he, *that's worthy of so much Joy, unless that Homer is alive again?* He was then arriv'd to such a Degree of Happiness, that he thought there wanted nothing to compleat his Glory, but one capable to trumpet his Praise. By frequent reading of him, he had got him almost all by Heart; so that no Person that could quote him more readily or familiarly, or judge of him more justly. But of all his Verses, he was best pleas'd with that wherein *Agamemnon* is prais'd both as a good General and a valiant Soldier; and look'd upon it as his chief Incentive to Virtue, and the Guide of his Manners.

Thus

Thus being Master of those Arts and Accomplishments, he notably maintain'd the Grandeur and Dignity of his Fortune, and kept himself free from Haughtiness and Libertinism, by which most Princes are acted. His Ornament and Dress did hardly distinguish him from a private Person; for he was of Opinion, that a Prince ought to surpass his Subjects rather in the Culture of Virtue, than in the Finery of his Cloaths. He was chearful, civil, and affable, but so as not to appear little. He was a Lover of Wine, but went not the length of Drunkenness; for in his leisure Hours, he preferred Conversation to Drinking. He had such a Contempt for Pleasures, that his Mother was afraid he was unfit for begetting Children. He held it as an inviolable Law, That he ought never to defile another's Bed. He followed these Maxims of Life and Manners a long while, and acted the Part of a great and worthy King, till such time as he was shaken by a certain *Impetus*, and changed by a strong Current of Fortune, so as to depart from his former Moderation by degrees. He shew'd an extraordinary Courage and Dexterity, to the great Astonishment of his Father and others, in managing the Horse *Bucephalus*, which Name was given him from his being mark'd with the Figure of an Ox's Head. *Thessaly* was very much fam'd at that time for fine Horses, and great Numbers of them were bred in that Country, but none of them was to be compar'd to *Bucephalus* either for Mettle or Beautiffulness; for which reason *Philonicus* a *Pharsalian*, thinking him worthy of the greatest Prince in those Parts, brought him to *Philip*, and propos'd to sell him for sixteen Talents. But when they came to try his Speed and Management, by riding him out into the Fields, there

22 Freinshemius's *Supplement*

there was none of the King's Friends or Attendants that durst venture to manage him; for he rose upon them, and frighten'd all that essay'd to mount him, by his Fierceness: So that he was now look'd upon as unmanageable and useles, upon the account of his Wildness; at which, *Alexander* sighing said, *What a fine Horse those People lose through their Ignorance and Cowardice!* After having repeated these Words over and over, his Father chid him, *for finding fault with Horsemen that were both older and more skilful than himself, as if he could manage that Horse better than they.* To which he answer'd; *I will manage him better than they, Father, if you will give me leave.* Upon this, his Father ask'd him, *What he wou'd forfeit if he could not execute what he had undertaken:* *I will forfeit the Price of the Horse,* reply'd he. At this every body finil'd, and agreed, *That if he won, the Father should pay for the Horse, but if he lost, he should lay down the Money himself.* Then *Alexander* taking the Horse by the Bridle, turn'd him directly to the Sun, that so he might not see his Shadow; for he had observ'd, that this frighten'd him, and made him more untractable. Finding his Fury was not much abated notwithstanding this, he stroak'd his Mane, laid his Armour aside gently, and jump'd upon him at once, though he was foaming with Rage. Then *Bucephalus*, that was not us'd to obey, begun to fling with his Heels, and throw about his Head, and very obstinately refuse to be guided by the Bridle; then he essay'd to get loose, and run away full speed. He was then in a spacious Plain that was fit for riding in: Wherefore *Alexander* giving him the Rein, and setting his Spurs to his Sides, he run with incredible Speed, and with all

the Vigor and Fury imaginable. And after he had travers'd a vast Space of Ground, till he was weary, and willing to stop, he spur'd him on till such time as his Mettle was exhausted, and he became tame; after which, he brought him back very gentle and tractable. When *Alexander* alighted, his Father embrac'd him with Tears of Joy, and kissing him, said, *He must seek out a larger Empire for himself, for that the Kingdom of Macedon, was too small for so vast a Spirit.* Afterwards *Bucephalus* continu'd the same Fierceness towards others, while he obey'd *Alexander* alone with a wonderful Submission, and after he had been his Companion in many Labours and Dangers, he was at last kill'd in a Battle against *Porus*. The most excellent Artificers thought this was a worthy Subject to celebrate their Skill upon: And there are two marble Statues of *Alexander* taming his Horse, which were a Trial of Skill between *Praxiteles* and *Phidias*. And tho' it is not certain that they are the Statues of *Alexander*; yet some Authors of very good Note, have believ'd them to be so.

By these and such like Trials of his Genius and Courage, he came to so high an Esteem with *Philip*, that when he laid Siege to the City of *Byzantium*, he thought his Son fit to be trusted with the entire Management of the Affairs of all *Macedonia*, tho' he was then but sixteen Years of Age. Some of the *Medarori* (who were a People of *Thrace*, and subject to *Macedonia*) perceiving this, thought they had now found a fit Opportunity for a Revolt, which they had long meditated, and so made no scruple of discovering their Designs. But the young Prince, glad of this Occasion of shewing his Courage and Conduct, march'd against them

24 Freinshemius's Supplement

them in all haste, with the Captains that his Father had left behind him; and having overcome the Rebels, and banish'd them from the City, he gave it to be inhabited by Strangers of several Nations, which they call'd *Alexandropolis*, after the Name of their Founder. Tho' this Success was the Cause of great Joy to *Philip*, yet fearing lest the young Prince might undertake, to his own Destruction, things beyond his Power, if he was left to his own Conduct, he sent for him, to the end, that under his Tutorage, he might learn to moderate his Heat with Prudence, and made use of his strenuous and ready Service, which was ever full of Spirit and Alacrity, in subduing the Cities of the *Chersonesus*. But finding that the Siege of the City of *Byzantium* drew into length, both because the Place was strong, and the Inhabitants fought bravely in Defence of their Liberty; and besides, being inform'd that both the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, who were jealous of the Growth of *Philip's* Power, were coming from all Parts to their Assistance; he despair'd of being Master of that City, and was only solicitous how to break up from the Siege with the greatest Safety for his Men, and his Honour. *Atreas* was at that time King of the *Geta*, a People of *Scythia*; who being press'd by the *Istrians*, demanded Succours of *Philip*; promising at the same time to make him his Heir, if by his Assistance he could retrieve his desperate Affairs. But when he found that the Enemy's General was dead, and himself deliver'd from the Apprehension of War, he sent back the *Macedonians* without fulfilling his Promise; telling them, *That he neither wanted their Assistance, nor the Adoption of Philip; That he had Troops enough of his own to defend him against his Enemies, and that he had a*

Son

Son to succeed him in his Kingdom. Philip being nettled at this foul Dealing, and bent upon Revenge, rais'd the Siege of *Byzantium*, and march'd his Troops into *Scythia*, where he engag'd the *Barbarians*, whom he overcame by his wise Conduct, notwithstanding their Superiority in Number. All the Booty of that Victory consisted of vast Flocks of Cattle and Horses, and female Captives and Children; nor was there any other Prey taken; for the *Getae* were not desirous of Riches, but contenting themselves with daily Sustenance, reckon'd Poverty amongst the Conveniencies of Life. When *Philip* return'd from *Scythia*, and march'd through the Country of the *Triballi* with a vast Equipage and much Baggage; that People taking Possession of all the Roads, denied him Passage, unless he would give them a Share of his Booty. There were *Greek* auxiliary Troops in *Philip's* Army, who took it ill too, that they had not a Share in the Fruits of that Victory, since they had been Sharers in the Danger.

This occasion'd a Mutiny in the Army, which issued in a very hot Dispute, in which many of both sides lay dead on the spot, and the King himself was wounded in the Thigh, and his Horse was kill'd with the same Wound, such was the force of the Dart, and so great the strength of him that threw it. Here *Alexander* was the first Person that ran in to the Relief of his Father, who was lying upon the Ground, and covering him with his Shield, kill'd some that were rushing upon him, and turn'd others into flight. Thus was the Father sav'd by the Piety and Duty of his Son, while those who were just ready to dispatch him ran away, as believing he was already dead; so that he seem'd to owe his Life to the desperate condition of his wound, and escaped Death, by the supposition of his having already suffer'd it.

26 Freinfhemius's Supplement

Mean while, in this Hurry and Confusion, the Booty was lost. *Philip* was lame by this wound, and when at first he seem'd to regret that imperfection of his Limbs, his Son comforted him by this Saying, that deserves to be remembred by all succeeding Ages, *That he ought not to be angry at a wound which put him in mind of his Valour at every step he took.*

Philip had by this time acquired Fame and Power enough ; he had receiv'd abundance of Wounds, and gone through Dangers enough, if his Mind that was blinded with Ambition could have suffer'd him to live in quiet. He made the *Macedonians*, who had formerly been 'Tributaries to the *Illyrians*, Masters not only of all their Neighbours, but also of very distant Nations. He had subdu'd the *Triballi*, reduc'd *Thrace* under his obedience, and commanded many of the *Greek States* ; and influenc'd others, either by Fear, or by Bribes. *Daochus*, *Cineas*, *Thracidas*, *Eudicus*, and *Scino* of *Larissæa*, had conquer'd the *Thessalians* for him ; *Ceridas*, *Hieronimus* and *Eucalpidao*, the *Arcadians* ; *Myrtis*, *Telecamus* and *Muaseas*, the *Argives* ; *Euixtheus*, *Cleotimus* and *Aristechmus*, the *Eleans* ; *Neon* and *Thrasyllochus*, the Sons of *Philiades*, had subdued the *Messenians* ; *Aristratus* and *Damarallus*, the *Syconians* ; *Noedorus*, *Helixus* and *Perilaus*, the *Megarensians* ; and *Hipparchus*, *Clitarchus*, and *Sofistratus*, the *Euobeans*. Now all these great Men, were Chiefs of their City : Besides, *Euthycrates* and *Lofthenes* deliver'd up *Olynthum* to him.

In short, *Sparta* was the only Commonwealth that nobly preserv'd her Liberty, and was free from Treachery. But as *Philip* aspired at the Conquest of all *Greece*, he easily perceiv'd that the Power of the *Athenians* was the greatest Bar to his Enterprizes : Nor was that Commonwealth without

Traitors ;

Traitors; but the People, who could do what they had a mind to, oppos'd the growing Power of the *Macedonians*, by the persuasion of *Demosthenes*; having understood by frequent Contentions (as it often falls out among powerful Neighbours) how daring and cunning *Philip* was, and how little he regarded either Reputation or Faith, when Dominion was in the dispute. The King was mightily enrag'd against the *Athenians*, because it was to them that his late Miscarriage at *Byzantium* was owing; for they not only sent to their Assistance a Fleet of a Hundred and twenty Sail, but likewise prevail'd upon the People of *Chio* and *Rhodes* to do the same thing. Wherefore, while the Wound which he had receiv'd in the Country of the *Triballi*, was a curing, he made all manner of Preparations secretly, in order to fall upon the *Athenians*, when they least suspected his design. He kept an Army on foot, on pretence that the *Illyrians*, who were naturally fierce, and unacquainted with Servitude, had already attempted to shake off the Yoke that had been lately put upon them.

Alexander was sent against those *Barbarians*, whom having defeated and put to flight, he gave the World such hopes of his Fortune and Virtue, and conceiv'd the same of himself, that he now thought he was able to govern Affairs by himself, without his Father's direction. These things were done in the space of two years. Now *Philip* having all things ready for his Enterprize, and thinking it was high time to put in execution what he had for some time design'd, took hold of as good an occasion as he could have wish'd, to lead his Army into *Greece*, which he did before the Spring of the year, and sent for the Troops of his Allies out of the *Peloponnesus*. He had been created General of the *Greeks* by a Decree of the *Amphy-*

28 Freinshemius's Supplement

Etiones, to chastise the Insolence of the *Locrians*, who inhabited the City of *Amphyssa*: For in Contempt of the Authority of the *Amphyetiones*, they continued to possess the Territory of *Cyrrha*, which was dedicated to *Apollo*, and had wounded their General, and cut to pieces several of their Men. *Philip* was at that time in Alliance with the *Athenians*; but they lookt upon that but as a small Security, if the King could make any Advantage of breaking his Faith. Wherefore they sent Ambassadors to him, to desire him to observe the Treaty, or at least to commit no Hostility 'till the Spring was well advanc'd. That in the meanwhile the *Athenians* would consult about measures to accommodate the Differences that were between them. They likewise sent an Embassy to *Thebes*, to represent to the *Thebans* the common Danger, and to exhort them to concur with them in the Defence of all Greece.

But *Philip* preserv'd the Friendship between the *Thebans* and *Macedonians*, through the mediation of his Partizans and Friends, the chief of which were *Trinolacco*, *Theogitou*, and *Anæmetas*, who had great influence over their Countrymen. In fine, persuading himself, that he should easily gain his point, if he had to do only with the *Athenians*; and having overcome the *Locrians* and their Confederates at *Amphyssa*, he march'd his Army with all speed into the *Phocides*, made himself Master of *Elatea*, which equally commanded the Borders of the *Thebans* and the *Athenians*, put a Garrison into it, and fortified it, as if he had design'd to make it the seat of the War. When this News was brought to *Athens* in the Night, the whole City was fill'd with such a Consternation, that early next Morning, when the People were Assembled, as usual, by the publick Cries, no body stood up to ask, *Whether any one there present had*
2
any

any thing to say, that tended to the Safety of their Country? At last *Demosthenes*, after having discoursed of such things as were suitable to the occasion (persuaded the People, That they ought without delay, to draw out their Army, and their Fleet, and send Ambassadors to all the Grecian States, but especially to the Thebans. A Decree being made agreeable to this Proposition, *Chares* and *Lyficles* were appointed Generals of the Forces, and *Demosthenes* was order'd to go Ambassa- to the Thebans. These Proceedings could not e- scape the Vigilance of *Philip*, who knew very well he should have a heavy War upon his hands, if those People should join in Confederacy. For the Athenians were at that time both rich and pow- erful; nor was either the Power or the Reputation of the Thebans to be contemned. Nor was the Memory of the famous Battle of *Leuctra* yet out of Men's Minds, by which Victory they wrested the Dominion of Greece out of the Hands of the Lacedemonians.

Wherefore that he might both confirm his Confederates, and baffle the Contrivances of the opposite Faction, he sent thither two Macedonians, *Amyntas* and *Clearchus*, and with them one *Pitho* a Bizantine, to whose Eloquence he de- pended. This Byzantine is said to have spoke in the Assembly of the Bæotians in the following manner.

“ If you had no Alliance with *Philip*, and the
 “ Athenian Army were in Possession of *Elatea*,
 “ while he lay idle in *Macedonia*, yet I have no
 “ room to doubt but you would even then be de-
 “ sirous of his Friendship and Alliance. For in-
 “ deed, who would not prefer so potent a King,
 “ who has done so many brave Things, to a Re-
 “ publick whose Reputation and Fame are supe-
 “ rior to its Strength? But now, since that Prince,

“ who as it were possesses the very Gates of your
 “ City, with his victorious Troops, is your Friend
 “ and Ally ; and since you have received many
 “ Affronts and Injuries from the *Athenians* both
 “ formerly and of late, it would be an Insolence
 “ to persuade you to an Alliance with them, and
 “ to condemn the Friendship of so great a King.
 “ But those People, who are the proudest and
 “ haughtiest of Mortals, fancy that they alone are
 “ wise and prudent, and that all the rest of Man-
 “ kind, but especially the *Bæotians* (for 'tis chief-
 “ ly you that they insult) are foolish and unpo-
 “ lish'd, and understand neither what is profitable
 “ nor honest. Thus they fancy they shall be able
 “ to persuade you to what you can never do
 “ without the extremest Folly, and that is, to
 “ chuse Friends and Enemies rather according to
 “ their Humours than for your own Benefit ; con-
 “ sisting in a Flourish of Words, in which consists
 “ all their Strength. But no Man in his Senses
 “ ever prefer'd Words before Facts, especially in
 “ War, wherein the Hands are of Service, but
 “ the Exercise of the Tongue is impertinent.
 “ Whatever Stress they may lay upon their Elo-
 “ quence, the Fortune and Virtue of *Philip*, which
 “ are supported by both his own and his auxiliary
 “ Forces, will always be superior. In earnest, 'tis
 “ hard to say, whether the Folly or the Impudence
 “ of their Demands be greatest. *Thebans*, say
 “ they, *expose your selves to the Thunder that ho-*
 “ *vers over Athens, make War upon a King who is*
 “ *your Friend and Ally, at the Hazard of your*
 “ *own Ruin, that we may continue in Safety.*
 “ *Stake down your Lives before him, to prevent*
 “ *Philip from revenging the Injuries of the Atheni-*
 “ *ans.* Are these the Demands of Men who are
 “ in their Senses, or think others have the use of
 “ theirs ? They who but very lately omitted no
 “ Occasion

“ Occasion of Oppressing you, they who pursued
 “ you with Reproaches, Outrages and Arms, as
 “ much as in them lay, and look'd upon your
 “ Dangers and Misfortunes as their Happiness;
 “ these same People have the Confidence to pro-
 “ pose to you, to chuse to perish with them, ra-
 “ ther than be victorious with *Philip*. But this
 “ Prince, who was once your Guest and Pupil,
 “ who was brought up with that famous General
 “ *Epaminondas*, whose Life and Morals bear the
 “ fairest Character, has from his Youth imbib'd
 “ an Affection for your City, and the OEcono-
 “ my and Manners of its Inhabitants. He re-
 “ venged the Injuries done to you and to *Apollò*
 “ in the *Phocian* War, when the *Athenians*, out
 “ of Hatred to you, sent Succours to one of your
 “ Countrymen who was guilty of Sacrilege; and
 “ when he was again invited by the unanimous
 “ Decree of the *Amphyctiones*, he revenged the
 “ Contempt of the same Deity upon the *Locri-*
 “ *ans*: And so careful was he of your Inte-
 “ rests, that he would not depart, 'till such time
 “ as he had delivered you from the Jealousy of
 “ that Rival City, which has always been your
 “ Enemy. If you are inclined to execute this
 “ Design by your common Councils and Forces,
 “ he will not be against your coming in for a
 “ Share of the Booty, rather than a Share of the
 “ War: But if you had rather be Neuter, only
 “ grant him a Passage; for he alone is able to re-
 “ venge all your common Injuries: Even in that
 “ case you shall reap equal Fruits of Victory.
 “ The Flocks, Herds, and Slaves that shall be
 “ won from the Enemy, shall most of them fall
 “ to your Share, as being the nearest Neighbours;
 “ and thus shall you make up the Loss you su-
 “ staind in the *Phocean* War. I leave you your-

“ selves to judge whether this will not be more
“ advantageous for you, than to have your Dwel-
“ lings burnt, your Towns storm'd, set on Fire,
“ and plunder'd, and all your Affairs put in Dis-
“ order and Confusion, just as the *Athenians* wish
“ them. In truth, Sincerity that is unjustly su-
“ spected, turns to Rage, and the greatest good
“ Will, when it is slighted, concludes in the bit-
“ terest Revenge. I do not say this, as if I was
“ upbraiding you for Ingratitude, which I have
“ not the least apprehension of; nor to strike ter-
“ ror into you, which I trust there will be no oc-
“ casion for; but that the memory of *Philip's*
“ good offices towards you, and of yours towards
“ him, may convince you, that those Alliances
“ only are firm and perpetual, which it is the In-
“ terest of both Parties to observe. If he has me-
“ rited more of you than you have done of him,
“ it will be your Duty, to shew the same good
“ Dispositions, and use the same Endeavours not
“ to fall short of him in this respect. He thinks
“ that the greatest Recompence for all his La-
“ bours is his having supported *Greece* by his Suc-
“ cours; for the Safety and Honour of which he
“ has waged continual War with the *Barbarians*.
“ Would to the Gods, the Madness of the *Athe-*
“ *nians* had permitted him to follow his own
“ Courses ! you would have heard by this time,
“ that his Arms, which he is now constrain'd to
“ move about *Greece*, to repress the Disturbances
“ raised by seditious and ill-designing Persons,
“ were triumphing in *Asia*. He might certainly
“ have been in Friendship with the *Athenians*, un-
“ less he had thought it below him, and of bad
“ Example, to become a Vassal to this *Demosthe-*
“ *nes*, and some others, who drive the ignorant
“ Multitude whither they please, by the Breath
“ of

“ of their Orations, as the Winds drive the Waves
 “ of the Sea. Doubtless, had they any regard
 “ for Honour or Honesty, they would do their
 “ Duty without being brib’d to it. But they
 “ who are accustomed to sell their Honour, make
 “ no Distinction between things that are useful,
 “ and things that are dangerous, between Justice
 “ and Injustice, if they find their Advantage in
 “ Wickedness as well as in Goodness; they are
 “ wrought upon by Interest, and not by the Love
 “ of Virtue or their Country, nor respect for
 “ Gods or Men. In vain will you expect any
 “ thing from those Men that is either virtuous or
 “ reputable: They who have the Interest of
 “ their Country so little at Heart, will never be
 “ concern’d for your Interests: They will in-
 “ volve you in the same Calamities from which
 “ you have been lately delivered by the Courage
 “ and Faith of the *Macedonians*. Calamities so
 “ much the greater, by how much *Philip* must
 “ be a more formidable Enemy than *Philomelus*
 “ or *Onomarchus* were. For in a precarious Com-
 “ mand, the Endeavours of a good and able Ge-
 “ neral will be no less travers’d by his own Coun-
 “ trymen, than by the Enemy. Whereas none
 “ dares to oppose or disobey the King’s Command:
 “ His Will alone is the Rule by which they are
 “ governed; and of what Importance this is in
 “ Affairs of War, you all know. Nor is that
 “ Security of the *Macedonians* confin’d to one
 “ Person: Tho’ Fate should dispose of *Philip*,
 “ we have an *Alexander* to rise up in his Stead,
 “ who has even at so green an Age, given such
 “ Proofs of his Courage and Genius, that it is al-
 “ most evident he will be equal to the most re-
 “ nowned Generals. On the contrary, the Pow-
 “ er of Peace and War residing in all the People

34 Freinshemius's Supplement

“ promiscuously among the *Athenians*, the bold-
 “ est Pretender assumes it to himself as a thing
 “ that belongs to the first Seizer: There all things
 “ are managed rather by Starts of Passion, than
 “ by Counsel and Deliberation: Men of ill De-
 “ signs persuade, and the Ignorant decree: War
 “ is undertaken with more Heat than it is car-
 “ ried on; and Treaties are broke with the same
 “ Ease that they were made. For they have a
 “ Treaty with *Philip*, which how sacredly they
 “ keep, appears from their Actions and Behavi-
 “ our. Nor do they think it enough that they
 “ break Faith themselves, unless they spread that
 “ Contagion wider. But your Steadiness, O *The-*
 “ *bans*, by which you are no less famous and
 “ great, than by your brave and successful Ex-
 “ ploits, leaves no room to doubt, but you will
 “ prefer the Friendship of a King which you have
 “ had repeated Proofs of, to that of a City
 “ which has always been your Enemy, and en-
 “ vious of your Glory. Nor will *Hercules*, the
 “ Averter of Evil, whom your City adores as
 “ their own inmate Tutelary Deity with a pe-
 “ culiar Veneration, ever suffer you to engage
 “ in an unjust, and impious War, against one
 “ who is descended from his Blood. As to his
 “ other Allies, you may learn from themselves,
 “ what Value they have for the King's Friend-
 “ ship.”

These were the Words of Pitho: Then the De-
puties of the Allies were heard, who praised the
King's Affection to them; and then remon-
strated:

“ That he who was the Protector of *Greece*,
 “ ought rather to be followed, than the *Athenians*,
 “ who were the Disturbers of it.

But when *Demosthenes* had liberty to speak, “ I
 “ was not ignorant, *said he*, that those Mercena-
 “ ries of *Philip’s* would neither spare their Praises
 “ upon him, nor their Reproaches upon us. For
 “ they who have laid aside all Shame, are little
 “ solicitous either what they say or do, so they
 “ gain their Point. But, O *Thebans*, if I under-
 “ stand your Temper, they will find themselves
 “ mightily disappointed in their Expectations, and
 “ carry back an Answer to *Philip* that is worthy
 “ of your Virtue, and of the Discipline of the
 “ *Greeks*: In the mean while, pray take good heed
 “ to what lies upon us to do at this time. For
 “ that your whole Fortune depends upon this
 “ Day’s Deliberation, I shall shew, by irrefragable
 “ Arguments, and not by the Charms or Magick
 “ of Words, by which they are afraid you may
 “ be imposed upon: They may lay aside their
 “ Fear, since they have no Occasion to be so so-
 “ licitous about you; for we shall not in the least
 “ endeavour to appear more eloquent than they.
 “ A bad Cause, indeed, has sometimes been migh-
 “ tily indebted to the Power of Eloquence; but
 “ when it is the Business of him that speaks, to
 “ shew the naked Truth, if he is wise, he will
 “ never take up his Time in a Flourish of Words.
 “ As to *Philip*, we are very little concerned about
 “ his Character; let him for us, resemble the Pi-
 “ cture they have drawn of him; let him be hand-
 “ som, eloquent, or a good Companion at an En-
 “ tertainment; for some People have praised him
 “ even for these Qualifications; and thus confess’d
 “ him deficient in real, and solid Glory. But I
 “ cannot help wondering, that his Ambassador
 “ should reproach us in your Presence, with those
 “ things, which if they are Crimes, do without
 “ dispute equally affect the *Thebans* and the *Athe-*
 “ *nians*. They have been endeavouring to ex-

“ pose the Inconveniences of a popular Form of
 “ Government, which tho’ both you and we are
 “ sensible of, yet do we prefer it to Regal Ty-
 “ ranny. They have talk’d to you at such a rate,
 “ as if they had had a Mind to obtain Favour by
 “ tickling the Ears of a popular Circle, or a pub-
 “ lick Assembly of *Macedonians*; and not as if they
 “ came to a free City, to execute the Office of
 “ Ambassadors. We very well know the irre-
 “ concileable Hatred that Kings and their Slaves
 “ have to free Cities and People; and they have
 “ done very foolishly to discover this: But we
 “ are to take so much the greater Care, *Thebans*,
 “ to defend our Laws and Privileges. It were
 “ to be wish’d, above all things, that those who
 “ are call’d to the Administration of Affairs in
 “ Common-wealths, were engaged only in this
 “ glorious Contention, who should consult the In-
 “ terests of their Common-wealth best, or who
 “ should best execute the Resolutions that are ta-
 “ ken: Then none would prefer his own Advan-
 “ tage to the Common Good; none would re-
 “ ceive Bribes; and none would betray his Coun-
 “ try to *Philip*, after the Example of those Depu-
 “ ties. But, *Theban’s* entire and perfect Felicity,
 “ was never the Lot of any Man or any State:
 “ He is the happiest Person whose Circumstances
 “ are freest from Misfortunes. It is past dispute,
 “ that we have bad Citizens, nor have you been
 “ without them in former Times, *Thebans*, nor
 “ are you even at this time. If this were not so,
 “ *Philip* would not threaten our Liberty at this
 “ Day from *Elatea*, but should be obliged to con-
 “ tend with us for the Kingdom of *Macedonia*.
 “ However, we have good Citizens too, and these
 “ more numerous and more powerful than the
 “ bad ones. Do you want a Proof of this? We
 “ are free: We are not *Philip’s* Slaves, as you
 “ thought

“ thought to have made your *Byzantines*, *Python* ;
 “ but as for you *Daochus*, and you *Thrasideus*,
 “ you sold your *Theſſalians* to the King. In effect,
 “ *Thebans*, you behold *Theſſaly* languishing under
 “ the Servitude of *Philip* at this Day ; and if I mi-
 “ ſtake not, you deplore their hard Condition as well
 “ as we. No Thanks to *Python* that *Byzantium* did
 “ not ſuffer the ſame Fate with *Olynthus* ; but its
 “ Deliverance is owing to us. For that religious
 “ and venerable Protector of *Greece*, had reſolved
 “ to oppreſs that *Greek City*, which was in our
 “ Alliance and Confederacy, and in no apprehen-
 “ ſion of being attack’d. Behold, wherein con-
 “ ſiſts the Prudence of this great Prince ! With
 “ him Artifice and Cunning is good Policy ; Per-
 “ jury is an Art or Science, and Perſidy a Virtue.
 “ If this be not the Caſe, pray let him tell what
 “ other way he arriv’d at that formidable Power
 “ he is now poſſeſs’d of ? If it was not by ſurpri-
 “ ſing the *Greeks* with Frauds, Stratagems, and
 “ Treachery ; if it was not by conquering the
 “ *Barbarians* rather with Gold than with the
 “ Sword ; or in fine, whether he ever ſtuck at
 “ his Faith to any Mortal, or breaking it when it
 “ was engaged. And yet theſe Deputies give him
 “ the glorious Title of Protector of *Greece*, and
 “ call us the Diſturbers of it ! But what will they
 “ be aſham’d of, who had rather charge us with
 “ their own Faults, than not diſcover to you theſe
 “ they are evidently guilty of ? If any one was
 “ guilty of Treachery, you would make it your
 “ Buſineſs to defend, protect, and ſhelter him
 “ from the Punishment of the Laws ; now that
 “ you accuſe others, you condemn your ſelves.
 “ If you did this without any Aim or Deſign ;
 “ then pray where was your Senſe or Prudence ?
 “ But if you did it wittingly and willingly, then
 “ where was your Honesty ? It is a ſufficient Vin-
 “ dication

“ dication of my Innocence, and of theirs who are
 “ embark'd in the same Cause with me, that you
 “ your selves own we have receiv'd nothing from
 “ *Philip*; for had we ask'd any thing of him, we
 “ should not have gone away empty handed from
 “ so liberal a King as you give out yours is. Would
 “ not he who thought it worth his while to cor-
 “ rupt you, have also given us Bribes, if we had
 “ ask'd them? But you have just now admonish'd
 “ the *Thebans* not to follow the Council of those
 “ who have not the Interests of their Country at
 “ heart. From this Minute I cease to oppose
 “ them, *Thebans*, if they are really of that Mind:
 “ I come over to their Sentiments, and I exhort,
 “ pray, and beseech you with all the Earnestness
 “ possible, and conjure you by your own Safety,
 “ and that of all *Greece*, to embrace their Propo-
 “ sition. If you come into this, you will not suf-
 “ fer your selves to be sold for Drovers of Cattle,
 “ nor suffer your Possessions to be made your
 “ Prisons, nor shall be Slaves under the *Paonians*
 “ and *Triballi*, like the rest of *Philip's* Slaves. For
 “ they would have you to look upon Flocks and
 “ Slaves, which are the glorious Reward of Ser-
 “ vitude, and condemn your Wives, your Chil-
 “ dren, your Parents, your Liberty, your Repu-
 “ tation, your Faith, and in fine, every thing that
 “ is sacred and venerable among the *Greeks*, as
 “ not worthy of your Care. Thus certainly,
 “ *Thebans*, you have lost and forfeited all these,
 “ unless you unite with us in resisting the Fraud
 “ and Violence of *Philip*. But if you should ima-
 “ gine your selves safe in the Care and Endea-
 “ vours of others, I am afraid you will find your
 “ selves egregiously mistaken. For if *Philip* should
 “ accomplish his Designs (which I cannot think
 “ of without Horror and Detestation) who can
 “ doubt but that all *Greece*, as well as you, will
 lose

“ lose their Liberty? And who, but they who
 “ have a mind to perish, would lay any stress
 “ upon the Faith of such a Prince? But if Victory
 “ should declare for us, pray consider what you
 “ ought to expect from Men whom you deserted
 “ and abandon’d, when both their Safety and
 “ their Glory were at stake? For whatever way
 “ your Opinion may sway you, you may depend
 “ upon it, that the *Athenians* are resolved to
 “ venture all, and that they will never lose their
 “ Liberty but with their Lives. Nor do we
 “ distrust our Strength, to which if you will join
 “ yours, we shall, when united, be superior to
 “ the Enemy, to which either of us singly might
 “ perhaps be equal. The *Athenians* are not ig-
 “ norant of his Power, which they foresaw while
 “ it was rising and encreasing; and had all the
 “ *Greek* States been of one and the same mind,
 “ we might easily have set Bounds to it. For
 “ we waged War with him a long time, not for
 “ *Amphipolis* or *Halonefus*, as many believed,
 “ but for the Safety and Liberty of *Greece*; ’till
 “ being abandoned by all, and attacked by some,
 “ we were forced to make a necessary rather
 “ than an honourable Peace. But now, I trust,
 “ *Minerva*, the Guardian Goddess of our City;
 “ and the *Pythian Apollo*, who is the Native
 “ God of our Country, and all the rest of the
 “ *Grecian* Gods, have at last opened their Eyes,
 “ and raised the Courage of all their Worshippers,
 “ in defence of our ancient Liberty, which has
 “ been transmitted to us by our Fore-fathers.
 “ Sure *Hercules* could not hear the Words of the
 “ Ambassadors without Indignation, when they
 “ derived *Philip’s* Pedigree from that God. For
 “ can that God own him who is a Contemner of
 “ all Religions? Can a *Greek* acknowledge a *Ma-*
 “ *cedonian* for his Descendant? Can one that
 “ hates

“ hates, punishes, and extirpates Tyranny, own
 “ a Tyrant? For in this appeared the illustrious
 “ and memorable Deeds of *Hercules*, more than
 “ in any thing else. *Philip*, on the contrary,
 “ exercises unjust Dominion over *Greece*, and
 “ has set Domestick Tyrants over several Ci-
 “ ties thereof; such as *Philistides* over *Oreum*,
 “ *Hipparchus* over *Eretica*, and *Taurosthenes* over
 “ *Chalcides*. For this Reason the *Eubœans*, *Achaans*,
 “ *Corinthians*, *Megarensians*, *Leucadians*, and *Cor-*
 “ *cyræans* have declared for us: Others wait the
 “ Event, which has hitherto been the only Sup-
 “ port of the Power of *Macedonia*, and which
 “ will fall of itself, when ever it begins in the
 “ least to decline. As to the *Theſſalians*, by
 “ whom *Philip* is now so well furnished with
 “ Horse, they never stood firm to one side long:
 “ The *Illyrians* and other *Barbarians* bordering
 “ upon *Macedonia*, who are naturally fierce and
 “ savage, and mightily enraged at their new Ser-
 “ vitude, will immediately declare for us, and
 “ ease us of the Burthen of the War, if *Philip*
 “ should meet with bad Success at first. Only
 “ concur heartily with us in so glorious a Design,
 “ and in the mean while lay aside those Conten-
 “ tions, which a very slight Cause often produ-
 “ ces among neighbouring States. Publick Joy
 “ will turn private Grudges into mutual Benevo-
 “ lence, when Success crowns our Endeavours;
 “ or when we have Leisure to give Vent to our
 “ unreasonable Passions, they may be resum'd per-
 “ haps to the Dishonour and Damage of us both,
 “ but without destroying us entirely. I would
 “ not have you to be afraid of the Artifices of
 “ *Philip*, only shut your Ears against his Promi-
 “ ses, and keep your Hands clean of Bribes. If
 “ you have your Liberty most at Heart, Cun-
 “ ning and Gifts will have no Effect upon you:
 “ As

“ As the Discords of the *Greeks* have rais'd his
 “ Power, so their Union will overthrow it. Be-
 “ sides as he is rash and headstrong, he may be
 “ easily catch'd; and if this happens, there is no
 “ Danger to be fear'd from others: For he
 “ seeks Glory and Dominion, while those who
 “ are subject to him desire nothing more than
 “ Quiet. But perhaps you dread *Alexander*, be-
 “ cause his Partizans condemn you at such a rate,
 “ that they think you may be frighten'd at the
 “ Name of a Boy.

You would have thought that this Speech of *Demosthenes* had perfectly chang'd the *Thebans* into other Men all of a sudden. They who had heard the Ambassadors of *Philip* but a little before with Attention, and even Pleasure, were now so far of another mind, that they declar'd, they would look upon *Philip* as an Enemy, unless he quickly departed from their Borders, and those of their Allies; that they would drive from their City all that were in the *Macedonian* Interest, and receive into it the Troops of the *Athenians*. But *Philip*, who was more vex'd than frighten'd at the *Thebans*, abandoning him so unexpectedly, continu'd to carry on his Enterprize. After two slight Engagements, in both of which the *Athenians* had the better, the two Armies encamped with all their Forces near *Cheronea* a City of *Bæotia*. The *Greeks* were animated by the Deeds of their Ancestors, and their Concern for Liberty; and *Philip* trusted to his excellent Troops, that had been victorious in so many Battles: Nor did he put small confidence in his own Conduct, because he excelled in the Art of War; besides that, the most renowned Generals of the *Greeks* were dead. The *Thebans* were ruled at that time by *Theagenes*, a Man who had but little Experience in War, and was not Proof against Money; and *Philip* infinitely sur-
 passed

passed the *Athenian* Generals both in Experience and Courage. But the united Forces of two powerful States, whose Authority was followed by the *Corinthians* and others, made him apprehend, that the Fortune of a small part of one Day might cost him both his Life and his Dominions. The Leading Men among the *Thebans* seem'd inclin'd to listen to Proposals of Peace; but the Ardour of the *Athenians* prevail'd so far, as to make them consent to hazard all the Hopes and Power of *Greece* in one Battle. On the other side, *Alexander*, whose Fire and Spirit could not be restrained, conjured his Father, not to let so favourable an Opportunity of getting Glory slip out of his Hands; and having obtain'd leave to venture a Battle, he was the first that began the Attack upon the Enemy. The Fight was carried on with Obstinacy, and Success was doubtful for a long time; 'till at last the young Prince, to whom his Father had given the Command of one of the Wings of the select Troops, having with great Vigour and Resolution attack'd the sacred Cohort of the *Thebans*, which consisted of their best Troops, oblig'd them to give Ground, and so open'd a Way to Victory. For the *Athenians* being disheartned by the Misfortune of their Allies, and weaken'd with the Heat and their Wounds, were not able to make Head against the *Macedonians* any longer: Besides, *Philip* being rais'd by Emulation and Shame, lest he should come short of his Son who was but a Youth, fell upon them with such Fury, that they were no longer able to stand their Ground. Thus one Battle determin'd concerning the Liberty of *Greece*: Of the *Athenians* above a Thousand were kill'd, and above Two Thousand taken Prisoners; a great many of the Allies also were either kill'd in the Action, or forc'd to surrender themselves to the

Power

Power of the Conqueror. After which, *Alexander* was sent to *Athens*, to assure the *Athenians*, that *Philip* both forgave 'em, and sent 'em Peace; and likewise restor'd to them their Prisoners without Ransom, neither did he hinder them from burying their Dead. For, as the King being wholly intent on the *Persian* War, endeavour'd to secure himself of the Fidelity and Affection of the *Greeks*, by his Clemency and Moderation; yet he took from the *Athenians* the Sovereignty of the Sea, and the Islands: He dealt more severely with the *Thebans*, by whose Defection, he remember'd his Affairs were brought into the greatest Danger; and because he thought, that as they were his ancient Allies, and had receiv'd Favours from him, they had no reason to join with the *Athenians* against him: Therefore, upon the surrender of their Town, he put into it a Garrison of *Macedonians*, and having put to Death those he most hated and suspected, and banish'd others, he conferr'd the Magistracy and Judicature on those of his own Faction, whom he had recall'd from their Exile. He reduc'd the other People who had taken up Arms against him, with the same Torrent of Victory, insomuch that there was not in all *Greece* any, except the *Spartans* and the *Arcades*, that remain'd exempt from his Power; forcing some by his Arms, and others by disadvantageous Alliances, to comply with his Authority. Having therefore appointed a General Assembly of all *Greece*, at *Corinth*, he made a Speech to 'em about carrying the War into *Persia*, telling 'em, *It was necessary to go and meet the Barbarians, whose Pride had already laid a Scheme for Universal Empire, that they must resolve to be Slaves for ever, or in time oppose their Power. For the Case was not, whether the Greeks would have War or Peace; but, whether they had rather*

carry

44 Freinshemius's Supplement

carry the War into the Enemy's Country, or receive it in their own. That they ought not only to revenge former Injuries, but also remove the present Shame; by delivering the Greek Cities, situate in Asia, from the Persian Slavery. That this might be easily effected, if settling the Affairs of Greece, they were at liberty to turn all their Forces to the War beyond the Sea. That Peace at Home would thereby be secur'd, having remov'd and employ'd in a remote and foreign War, those restless and audacious Spirits, whose Idleness was usually the Grounds of Sedition, and Civil Commotions. That they ought therefore to make choice of a General, and settle the Number of Troops with which they design'd to carry on this War.

Most People were sensible of the vastness of the Demand; but they judg'd it unseasonable to assert by Words, that Liberty they had lost in Arms: Wherefore, without any farther Deliberation, Philip is with loud Acclamations declar'd General of Greece, and order'd to march into Asia, for the Safety and Delivery of the whole World. An Account is therefore taken of the Wealth of every one, and it is enter'd into Books, what Soldiers, Corn and Money each should supply. I find they engag'd for Two hundred thousand Foot, and Fifteen thousand Horse; in which Number, neither the *Macedonians*, nor the *Barbarians* that were Subjects to 'em, were compris'd.

But as there is no Felicity in Human Affairs, without a mixture of Adversity, the Prosperity Abroad was succeeded by Domestick Troubles: *Olympias*, as we hinted before, by her Moroseness and haughty Temper, every Day more and more alienated the Mind of her Royal Husband. Some alledge that, for the Cause of her Divorce; but I find, that even whilst he cohabited with her, he admitted *Cleopatra* into a Matrimonial Familiarity.

liarity. Indeed, it is not reasonable to think that *Alexander* would have been present at the Wedding of his Mother-in-Law, which was so dishonourable to his own Mother whom he lov'd so dearly, and whose Disgrace reflected on himself; for there was a Suspicion of her being removed for Infidelity: However, he was there; and a Quarrel arising at the Entertainment, he carry'd off his Mother. For *Attalus* the Bride's Uncle, being elevated with Wine, and not being able to conceal his Hopes, telling the *Macedonians*, *That they ought to offer up their Prayers to the Gods, to implore a Lawful Successor to Philip by this new Wife; Alexander*, who was otherwise prone to Anger, being provok'd by so gross an Affront, reply'd, *What do'st thou then make of us, Wretch as thou art? Am I a Bastard?* and at the same time flung the Glass which he had in his Hand, in his Face: *Attalus* flinging another at him. A Quarrel arising, *Philip*, who was not at the same Table, being offended at the Interruption of the Mirth of the Day, drew his Sword, and had kill'd his Son, if his Anger, and the Wine, and a Lameness contracted from a former Wound, had not hinder'd him, by causing him to fall down; which gave his Friends (who were surpriz'd at the suddenness of the thing) time to interpose, and convey *Alexander* away.

Nor was it a matter of less difficulty to prevail with him to save himself. He thought he was injur'd many ways; and though they put him in mind of the terms of Father, and King, and of the Law of Nature, and Nations, yet he could not forbear insulting *Philip*, representing to the *Macedonians*, *what a fine Leader they were like to have for the Asian Expedition, since he could not go from one Table to another without falling.* After which, being in fear for his Mother, he took
her

her along with him, and left her in *Epirus*, where her Brother reign'd, and went himself to the King of *Illyrium*. Being afterwards return'd to *Macedonia*, through the Mediatorship of *Demeratus* the *Corinthian*, this perverse Woman could not forbear prompting her Son (who was of himself solicitous enough for power) *to make himself what Friends he could by a winning Carriage, and by Money, and to fortifie himself against his Father's Anger, by contracting an Alliance with the Men in Authority.* It is true, *Philip* himself had formerly counsell'd him to gain the affection of Men, by his affability and courteous behaviour; but he no wise approv'd of his doing it by Presents; nay he even reprimanded him by Letter, *for daring to hope for the Benevolence of those Men whom he had corrupted by Gifts; telling him he was mistaken, who thought that became a King; it being rather the business of a Servant, or mean Officer.*

But as he would frequently brag, that all things were penetrable by Money, and that he made use of it himself as often as of his Arms, he did not seem to write that, so much with an intention to instruct him in what was proper, as out of Fear, lest the Youth, his Son, should make use of his own Artifices against him. He also chid him for courting the Daughter of *Pexodorus*, that his Father intended for *Arideus*, calling him degenerate, and unworthy the Fortune his Birth and Education gave him hopes of; who could covet for a Father-in-Law, a barbarous *Carian*, the Subject of a Barbarian King. Yet he himself had never slighted any Condition to confirm his Power, but could marry *Illyrian* and *Getic* Women, the roughest and unpolitest of all *Barbarians*, tho' he had, at the same time a great many Children by other Wives and Concubines; which seeming to make *Alexander* somewhat uneasy, he took up
his

his Son with a gentle reproof; and exhorted him, *That since he was to have a great many Rivals for the Kingdom, he would take care to make himself more worthy and deserving than the rest, that he might not seem to be oblig'd to Philip his Father for the Crown, but to his own Merit.*

But as for this and the like Causes, they frequently disagreed, and that Friendship and Benevolence being once broken, it was not easie to cement new Affections again into a real Fidelity; so they fell to the last Extremities. The violent Temper of *Olympias* was the chief spring of this Mischief, whose haughty and imperious Mind, prompted the contumacious stubbornness of the Sex, with a masculine and unwarrantable Thirst of Revenge. She had us'd her endeavours to make her Brother *Alexander* declare War against *Philip*. But the wise King, that he might not be necessitated to that at so unseasonable a time; tho' his Power was superior, contriv'd to strengthen their Friendship by a new Alliance, giving *Cleopatra*, *Alexander's* Sister, to the *Epirote* for Wife. All the petty Princes of the neighbouring Nations, and the Embassadors of the *Greek* States, met at *Age* to celebrate this Marriage. *Philip* made choice of this Place, not without some kind of Omen, of what afterwards happen'd; for the *Macedonian* Kings us'd to be bury'd there.

It is likewise reported that the *Delphick* Oracle, when he consulted it, on the account of the *Persian* War, foretold his Death; which being ambiguous, as Oracles generally are, he flatter'd himself that it signify'd the Destruction of the *Barbarians*. There were several other Presages, that no body then took notice of, 'till the Event made 'em plain. Among the King's Guards, there was one nam'd *Pausanias*; whom the King, to comfort him for the Affront he had receiv'd from *Attalus*, had

had promoted to that Honour. For *Attalus* had expos'd him, being loaded with Wine, to the scandalous insults of the Guests. *Pausanias* having apply'd himself to the King for Revenge, in lieu thereof receiv'd this Honour. *Philip* was so far from being able to resolve on the Punishment of a Man of that known fortitude in War, and whom he had united to himself lately by a near Alliance, that he gave him the Command of part of his Troops with *Parmenio* and *Amyntas*, and sent him into *Asia*, designing to make use of him in the *Persian* Expedition; and therefore desir'd *Pausanias* that he would for his sake, and the publick good, put up the Affront; endeavouring by fair words, and a better Sallary, to appease and pacifie him. But the young Man, having a greater regard to the Injury, than the Favours he receiv'd, turn'd the aversion he had for the Author of the Affront, on him that refus'd to vindicate it.

It was thought he had consulted with those who were Enemies to *Attalus's* Family, and were at variance with *Philip*; but no body doubted of it, when it came to be known, that *Olympias* had plac'd a Crown of Gold on the Head of the Parricide, as he hung upon the Cross. There were several other base Actions committed, by which the whole Contrivance and Cause of the Villainy came to light. By break of day the Theatre was crowded with the multitude that came thither to behold the publick Shews, which it was said, would very much exceed in Expence and Magnificence those of the preceding days. Among other things, in which wealthy Kings, and such as are not capable of the greatness of their Fortune, are us'd to sport and squander away their Riches, there were the Effigies of twelve Deities so exquisitely wrought, that the Art of the Workmen seem'd to vie with the Excellency of the Materials. There was a
thirteenth

thirteenth that represented *Philip*, in nothing inferior to the rest.

This Contempt of his mortal Condition was quickly reveng'd; and he, whom Success had render'd so insolent as to equal himself to the immortal Gods, was prevented by Fate, from enjoying an Honour that no way belong'd to him. For *Pausanias* having watch'd him as he was going into the Theatre alone (he having sent before those that attended him, and order'd his Guards to stay behind, designing to shew, that he was so generally belov'd, as to have no occasion for 'em) the Murtherer assaulted him on the sudden, and plung'd a Sword of the *Barbarian* make, which he conceal'd under his Cloaths, into his Body, while he suspected no such Attempt.

Such was the End of the greatest King of his time. He had mightily improv'd the State of *Macedon*, making it, of a poor and inconsiderable, both a great and flourishing Kingdom. He had conquer'd the neighbouring *Barbarians*, enslav'd all *Greece*, and was preparing to reduce the *Persian* Empire. The *Greek* Auxiliaries were gathering together, he had already sent several Generals before him into *Asia*, was on the very point of executing his Designs (promising to himself great and durable Advantages from the Victory) when he unexpectedly lost his Life.

Thus we see how the greatest things are frail and uncertain, a small Accident being able to disappoint the boldest Hopes of Mortals.

Olympias being inform'd of the King's Death, forc'd *Cleopatra*, *Attalus's* Niece, to hang her self; and a few days before *Philip's* Death, she had barbarously murther'd the Child she had by him, roasting it in a brazen Vessel. Not content with this, she made all her Relations and Dependents feel the Rage with which she was transported;

and very cruelly laid hold of this Opportunity to gratifie her implacable female Revenge.

While these things were doing, *Alexander*, like a benevolent Planet, seasonably appear'd to compose and calm so furious a Tempest. The *Greeks*, whom *Philip* had oppress'd, began already to conceive some hopes of their Liberty; the Neighbouring *Barbarians* began to be troublesome, and the Affairs of *Macedon* it self were in some Confusion. *Attalus*, who was at the Head of no contemptible Army, by a dextrous and insinuating use of his Power, had procur'd to himself a great Esteem among the Soldiery; and besides his being related to the principal Men of *Macedon*, had engag'd to marry the Sister of *Philotas*: And there was no relying on him, who had been both hated and offended by *Alexander* and his Mother. *Amyntas*, who was Son to *Perdiccas*, *Philip's* Brother, and whom *Philip* had chosen for his Son-in-Law, giving him *Cyna* in Marriage, aspir'd to the Succession of his Father's Kingdom, by the Murther of *Alexander*. A great part of the People, out of an Aversion to the Tyranny of *Olympias*, and others out of a desire of Novelty, were variously inclin'd to the one or the other; and some again did not scruple to say, the Crown (that *Amyntas* first, and *Philip* afterwards, had by Force and Fraud usurp'd from the lawful Heir) ought to be restor'd to *Alexander* the Son of *Ceropus*.

The Army likewise being compos'd of different Nations, disagreed both in their Councils and Discourses, according to the Inclination and Hopes of each Party. On the other side, *Alexander* was new in his Government, and *Philip's* sudden Death had not given him time to make any Provision against these unexpected Motions; and although he appear'd very promising and hopeful, yet they despis'd his Youth. They could not imagine that
a young

a young Prince of twenty years of Age, could take upon him so great a Weight ; or if he did, they could not believe he would be able to support it. Moreover the Nerve of great Actions, Money, was wanting ; and the *Persians* abounding with that, had dispatch'd Emissaries all over *Greece* to corrupt the People. And that nothing might be wanting to these Evils, the *Tuscan* Pirates infested and plunder'd the maritime Places of *Macedonia*. *Alexander* having therefore assembl'd his Friends, and the present State of Affairs being lay'd before them, some were of opinion, *That omitting all concern for Greece, he should endeavour by soft and gentle usage to keep the Barbarians in their Duty ; the intestine Motions being once compos'd and quieted, he might with more ease apply himself to the settling those at a greater distance.*

But the young Prince's Magnanimity was such, as made him look upon these cautious Counsels as cowardly, and therefore disdain'd 'em. He told 'em, *he should be for ever expos'd to the Contempt of all the World, if in the beginning of his Reign he suffer'd himself to be despis'd ; that the opinion he rais'd of himself at his entering upon the Government, would influence the whole course of his Life. That the Death of Philip was no less unexpected to the Rebels, than to himself ; that therefore while they were yet in a Hurry and Confusion, and unresolv'd what Measures to take, they might easily be suppress'd ; whereas the Delay of the Macedonians would be an Encouragement to the Authors of the Sedition, and those that were still wavering would have time to joyn the Male-contents ; by which means the Danger would become greater, and the Success more doubtful, against a prepar'd and confirm'd Enemy. But now it was not so much the business of Strength, as who should be most expeditious, and prevent the other. That if he shew'd*

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himself

himself to be afraid of 'em while single, and as yet disunited, what would become of him, when after such signs of Timidity, they should with their united Forces, fall all at once upon him? Having therefore made a Speech to the People, to the same purpose; he added, That he would take care, that both his Subjects and Enemies should acknowledge, that by his Father's Death, the Name and Person only of the King was chang'd; as for Conduct and Courage, they should find the want of neither. That notwithstanding some ill-minded People had taken this opportunity to make a Disturbance, they should in a little time be punish'd according to their Deserts, if the Macedonians would but lend him the same Bravery and Arms, they had with so much Glory to themselves, and advantageous Fruits of Victory, assisted his Father with, for so many Years: And that they might do this with the greater Cheerfulness and Alacrity, he discharg'd 'em of all Duties, except that of the War.

Fortune approv'd of the King's Counsel, and he executing each particular, with no less Vigour than he had spoke, every thing succeeded according to his Wish; for he prevented *Amyntas*, having discover'd his treasonable Practices; and he took off *Attalus* by the means of *Hecateus* and *Parmenio*. Of all those that were said to have conspir'd against *Philip*, he only pardon'd *Lyncistes*, and that because he had attended him at his first entrance on the Sovereignty, and was the first that saluted him as King: He put all the rest to Death; being of opinion that he provided for his own Safety, by revenging *Philip* after so severe a manner; and that thereby he should stifle the Report, that represented him as privy to his Father's Death.

Their frequent falling out, had giv'n some credit to that Rumour; and *Pausanias* having made

his Complaint to him, he is said to have encouraged his wicked Design, by a Verse out of a *Tragedy*, in which *Medea* not only threatens her Rival with Destruction, but likewise him that gave her in Marriage, and him that took her. However, he afterwards in his Answer to *Darius's* Letter, endeavour'd to cast the Odium of that Action, on the *Persians*, saying, that *Philip's* Murtherers had been corrupted with their Gold. But that he might more effectually take away all Suspicion of his having been concern'd in so foul an Action, he was thinking a little before his Death, to build a magnificent Temple in Honour of *Philip*. But that as well as many other Things that were found in his Memorials, was neglected by his Successors.

Judging therefore that his retaining the Sovereignty of *Greece*, that *Philip* had acquir'd, would be of great Moment to facilitate the Execution of his Designs, he march'd his Army with the utmost Expedition, and broke into *Thessaly* when no Body had the least Suspicion of his Motions. Some of the *Thessalians* began to raise their Spirits, and having possess'd themselves of the Streights at *Tempe*, they had block'd up the way that leads thither from *Macedonia*. These Countries are separated by the celebrated Mountains *Olympus* and *Ossa*, through whose Valleys the River *Peneus* runs, and renders them delightful even to Admiration, for which it is honour'd with publick Sacrifices. It has on each side its Current shady Groves, where the little Birds seem to join in a Confort from the neighbouring Trees, with the noisy Fall of the Waters. There is a narrow Way that extends it self five Miles in Length, being hardly broad enough for a Beast that is loaded, so that ten Men are able to defend it against any Number whatever. But he made his way through those Rocks that were thought altogether impracticable, cutting

54 Freinshemius's *Supplement*

the sides of Mount *Ossa* into Steps after the manner of winding Stairs; and so terrify'd the People by his wonderful Haste and Expedition, that without the least Opposition, they decreed him the same Tributes and Revenues, together with the Sovereignty of the Nation, and on the same Conditions *Philip* had enjoy'd them. He granted an Immunity of all Duties to *Pithia*, in consideration of its being the Birth-place of *Achilles*, from whom his Family deriv'd it self; and said, he made choice of that Hero for his Companion and Fellow-Soldier, in the War he was undertaking against the *Persians*.

From *Thessaly* he march'd to *Thermopyla*, where the Publick Diet of *Greece* was held. They call it the *Pylicium*. There, in the Publick Assembly of States, he was created Captain-General of the *Greeks* in the room of his Father, by the Appointment of the *Amphiſtyones*; he confirm'd the Liberty of the *Ambraciota*, which they had recover'd a few Days before, by driving out the *Macedonian* Garrison; assuring them that he should of his own Motion have restor'd it to 'em, if they had not prevented his Intention. From thence he advanc'd to *Thebes* with his Army, and having overcome the Obstinacy and Stubbornness of the *Bæotians* and *Athenians*, who very much oppos'd his Designs, he order'd all the *Greek* Deputies to meet him at *Corinth*. There the Decree of the *Amphiſtyones* was confirm'd, and he was by the common Consent of all, commission'd to be Captain-General of *Greece*, in the Place of *Philip* his Father; and the Aids and Supplies were appointed for the *Persian* War. It happen'd, that *Diogenes* liv'd in the same City, who having embrac'd a voluntary Poverty, according to the Institution of the *Cynicks*, prefer'd the Liberty and Freedom of his Mind to Riches and Cares. He was Sunning himself in the *Craneum*, which

is in the Suburbs of *Corinth*, where there is a Grove of Cypress Trees. *Alexander* being desirous to see him, went thither, and having granted him the Liberty to ask him what Favour he would, he bid the King go a little aside, and not intercept the Sun from him. The *Macedonian* much surprized at this unexpected Reply, could not but admire the Man, whom in that height of Prosperity, he had it not in his Power to oblige, and said, *He should chuse to be Diogenes, if he were not Alexander.* For that Greatness of Soul which made him look down (as it were from an Eminence) on all those Things, for whose sake the rest of Mankind gladly cast themselves away, did not altogether deceive the Mind of the penetrating Youth; yet being blinded with insatiable Desires, he could not plainly discover, that it was much better to want those Riches which were superfluous, than to have those that were necessary.

From *Peloponesus* he went to *Delphi* to consult *Apollo*, concerning the Event of the War he had in hand. But the Virgin Priestess who pronounc'd the Destinies, or fatal Decrees, having declar'd it to be unlawful to consult the Deity for some Days, he went to her himself, and taking hold of her, dragg'd her to the Temple. As she was going along, reflecting within her self, that the Custom of the Country was overcome by the King's Obstinacy: She cry'd out, *Thou art invincible, my Son:* At which Words he stop'd her, saying, *He accepted the Omen, and that there was no Occasion for any farther Oracle.* These Things being quickly dispatch'd, he return'd to his Kingdom, and with the utmost Affiduity, apply'd himself to the punishing those who had done any thing in Contempt of the *Macedonian* Majesty. Having by this time, got all Things in readiness, he left *Amyhipolis* in the Beginning of the Spring, and march'd against the free

People of *Thrace*, and after ten Encampments, arriv'd at Mount *Hemus*. A great Body of *Thracians* had possess'd themselves of the Top of the Mountain, with a Design to hinder the King's Passage: They had plac'd their Chariots round their Camp in the nature of an Entrenchment, intending to drive 'em against the Enemy, if they were attack'd. But *Alexander* having discover'd the Cunning of the *Barbarians*, gave Orders to his Soldiers, That upon the Chariots coming furiously against 'em, they should open to the Right and Left, and so let 'em pass by without doing any Mischief; or if they had not time for that, they should fling themselves upon the Ground, covering themselves with their Bucklers, in the Form of a *Tortoise*. Thus the Enemy's Stratagem became ineffectual, for a great part of the Chariots pass'd through the Lanes contriv'd for 'em; and those that fell among the Men, driving over the Bucklers, by the Violence of their Course, bounded over them, without having Weight enough to crush those that were under 'em; so that this Storm pass'd over without doing any Mischief. The *Macedonians* being deliver'd from this Terror, with joyful Acclamations gave the Onset. The Archers advancing from the Right Wing, gall'd the most forward of the *Barbarians*, with their frequent Flights of Arrows. So that the *Phalanx* or *Macedonian* Foot, having gain'd the Top of the Mountain without Danger, had no sooner got firm Footing but the Victory ceas'd to be doubtful, they driving and dispersing the Enemy, who was either naked or but slightly arm'd. But on the other side, that very thing that had expos'd the *Barbarians* during the Engagement, help'd them very much in their Flight; for not being loaded with Arms, they easily made their Escape, being well acquainted with the Country. Thus about fifteen
hundred

hundred of 'em being kill'd, the rest sav'd themselves. A great Number of Women and Children were taken; and considering the Condition of the Country, the Conqueror had a considerable Booty.

Having after this manner open'd himself a Passage through Mount *Hemus*, he penetrated into the very heart of the Country of *Thrace*. Among those People there is a Wood, consecrated to *Bacchus*, which they have a long time held in great Veneration: Here, as *Alexander* was sacrificing after the Custom of the *Barbarians*, there arose such a Flame from the Wine he pour'd on the Altar, as spread above the Roof of the Temple, and seem'd aspiring to the very Heavens. From hence, all that were present inferr'd, that the King's Glory was to have no other Bounds. Upon the neck of this, another accident happen'd, that confirm'd the Truth of this Conjecture. In the Country of the *Odrysa*, who are a People of *Thrace*, there is a Mountain call'd *Libethrus*, and a City of the same Name, famous for being the Place where *Orpheus* was born: The King was inform'd, by those that pretended to have been Eye-witnesses to the thing, that his sacred Statue that was made of Cypress-wood, had sweat most plentifully. Every body being solicitous for the Event, *Aristander* remov'd their Fear, assuring them, That it refer'd to *Alexander's* Exploits, which should make the Poets and the Muses Sons toil and sweat, in their Compositions which sung of those Exploits.

The *Triballi* are a brave People that inhabit the Country that lies beyond Mount *Hemus*. *Alexander* marching against them, *Syrmus* their King (being inform'd before-hand of the *Macedonian* Expedition) had fled to *Peuce*, an Island form'd by the *Ister*; there he defended himself, with the rest of what was weak, either by reason of Sex.

or Age, the River serving him as a Fortification: *Alexander* having but few Ships, and the Bank of the River being high and steep, and thereby of difficult Ascent, it was easily defended by a vigilant and brave Enemy. The *Macedonians* were therefore forc'd to retire without doing any thing, and be contented with the Advantages they had gain'd some days before; for, in their Way hither, they had attackt another Army of the *Triballi*, and with the loss of hardly Fifty Men, had kill'd Three thousand of the Enemy.

Having in vain attempted to force King *Syrmus*, he turn'd the Fury of his Arms against the *Geta*, who had, on the other side of the River, drawn up in Order of Battle Four thousand Horse, and Ten thousand Foot. He enter'd upon this dangerous Undertaking, not so much on the account of its Usefulness, with reference to the War, as out of a desire of Fame; that he might be able to boast, that (notwithstanding the Opposition of the fiercest Nations) he had forc'd his Passage over the largest River in *Europe*: Having therefore shipt off as many of the Cavalry as he could conveniently, he convey'd part of his Infantry over in little Boats, (of which there was a great Number) and the rest upon Skins, contriv'd for that purpose. The *Geta*, being struck with Terror, at the sudden and unexpected Attack of the *Macedonians*, (for the Night, and the Corn that grew very thick on the Bank of the River, had favour'd their Passage) hardly bore the first Charge of the Cavalry. But *Nicanor* was no sooner come up with the *Phalanx*, or *Macedonian* Foot, than they, with the greatest Precipitancy and Confusion, took to their Heels, making the best of their Way to a Town four Miles distant from the River; and upon *Alexander's* pursuing them closely, they carry'd off their Wives and their
 Chil-

Children, and whatever else they could load their Horses with, and abandon'd the rest to the Conqueror.

Alexander committed this Booty to the Care of *Meleager* and *Philip*; and having demolish'd the Town, and erected Altars to *Jupiter* and *Hercules*, and to the *Ister*, on the Bank thereof, for his prosperous Passage over that River, he retir'd the same Day with his Army, having obtained a Victory without Bloodshed. Hereupon, Ambassadors came to him from the neighbouring People, as also from King *Syrmus*, with Presents of such Things as were in esteem among them. The *Germans* too, that inhabit all that Tract of Ground that lies between the Head of the *Ister* and the *Adriatick*-Gulf, sent their Ambassadors to him; for the *Ister* has its rise in *Germany*, and in the Language of the Country, is call'd the *Danube*. He admiring at the Largeness of their Bodies, and Sprightliness of their Mind, ask'd them, *What of all things they most dreaded and fear'd?* Thinking with himself that they were apprehensive of his Power, and that he should extort such a Confession from 'em: But they, instead thereof, reply'd, *That they were not much afraid of any thing, unless it were, lest the Heavens should fall upon 'em; tho' at the same time, they had a value for the Friendship of brave Men.* Being surpriz'd at so unexpected an Answer, he remain'd silent for some time, and then broke out in this Expression, *That the Germans were a haughty and arrogant People.* However, as they desir'd, he contracted an Alliance with them, and granted Peace to *Syrmus* and the rest; and thinking he had gain'd Honour enough by that Expedition, he turn'd his Mind to the *Persian* War, from which he propos'd to himself greater Advantages, with less Hazard and Danger. It is said, his Uncle after-

wards upbraided him with that Notion, when he found the Difficulties he had to struggle with in the *Italian War*; for, complaining of the Inequality of their Lot, he said, *He had to do with Men, whereas the Macedonian made War against Women.*

Alexander therefore taking along with him the little Princes of *Thrace*, and all those who by reason of their Wealth or Courage were likely to cause any Innovation in his absence, under the pretence of doing them Honour, by chusing them for his Companions in the *Persian War*; he by this means took away the Heads of the Faction, who would not dare to attempt any thing without their Leaders.

As he was returning to *Macedonia* by the *Agriana* and *Paonians*, News was brought him of the Cominations in *Illyrium*. A certain Collier, whose Name was *Bardylis*, had advanc'd himself to the Dignity of King over several People in those Parts, and was become a troublesome Enemy to *Macedonia* it self, till *Philip* overcame him in a great Battle; however, he having made a shift to renew the War, *Philip* gave him a total Overthrow, and made him become his Vassal. This *Bardylis* was now dead, having liv'd to be fourscore and ten Years of Age: His Son *Clitus* thinking it a proper time to recover his Liberty, while *Alexander's* Arms were employ'd against the powerful Nations beyond the *Ister*, he prevail'd with the People to revolt, making an Alliance with *Glaucias* King of those People of *Illyrium*, they call *Taulanti*: The *Autariata* were likewise to fall upon the *Macedonians* as they were on their March. But *Langarus* King of the *Agriani*, adher'd firmly to *Alexander's* Interest, and beg'd he would commit the Care of that People to him; assuring him he would find them so much Employment at home, that they should no longer think of disturbing the *Macedonians*,

cedonians, but how to defend their own. The King having mightily commended the young Prince, and honour'd him with magnificent and noble Presents, dismiss'd him, promising him his Sister *Cyna* in Marriage, whom his Father had had by an *Illyrian* Woman, and had marry'd to *Amyn-tas*. The *Agrianian* was as good as his Word, but falling sick, he was prevented by Death from receiving the Reward that was promis'd him for his Services. The *Autariata* being thus reduc'd, *Alexander* arriv'd at *Pelium* (a Town in *Dessatetia*, situate on the River *Eordaicum*) without any Engagement. 'Tis true, they made a shew as if they desir'd to come to Action, marching out of their Fortresses with great Fury, but yet they retir'd before the Fight could begin, notwithstanding they had possess'd themselves of all the advantageous Posts which were full of Difficulty, by reason of the Woods and narrow Ways. Here the *Macedonians* beheld a dismal Spectacle, three Boys, three Girls, and three black Rams lying together in a confus'd Slaughter; the *Barbarians* having out of a cruel Superstition sacrific'd 'em to their Gods, to inspire them with Courage in the Engagement: But the incens'd Deity reveng'd the Impiety on their guilty Souls, by giving them Cowardice, instead of Courage.

The King having driven them within their own Fortifications, had resolv'd to block them up in them, by an outward Wall he intended to raise; when the next Day *Glaucias* arriv'd with a great Body of the *Taulantii*; so that laying aside all Hopes of taking the Town, he began to think of making a safe Retreat. In the mean time, *Philotas* being sent out to forage with the Cattle that bore the Baggage, under Convoy of Horse, *Alexander* was informed his Men were in Danger; for *Glaucias* had possess'd himself of all the Hills and Eminences round

62 Freinshemius's Supplement

round the Plain, watching all Opportunities to come to an Engagement. *Alexander* therefore leaving part of the Army in the Camp, to prevent any Sallies from the Town, march'd in all Diligence with the rest of the Troops to their Assistance, by which Means having terrify'd the *Illyrians*, he brought the Foragers safe back to the Camp. However, his March was like to be attended with many Dangers and Difficulties; for on one hand, the River, and on the other, the steep and craggy Hills so straiten'd the Way, that in several Places four Men arm'd could hardly march a Breast; and *Clitus* and *Glaucias* had posted on the Tops of the Hills, several Companies of Archers and Slingers, and a considerable Detachment of heavy arm'd Soldiers. This made *Alexander* place two hundred Horse before the Right, and as many before the Left of the *Phalanx*, commanding them to hold up their Spears, and on the Signal given, to present 'em to the Enemy, as if they were going to charge 'em, turning themselves sometimes to the Right, and sometimes to the Left. By this Stratagem he kept the Enemy in suspense; and having divided his *Phalanx*, that had hastily advanc'd, and afterward reunited it again into one Corps, he at last drew it up in the Form of a Wedge, and fell furiously on the *Illyrian* Forces, who being amaz'd at the Readiness and Skill of the *Macedonians*, fled hastily towards the Town. There remain'd but few on the Top of the Mountain that the *Macedonian* Troops had already pass'd; so that having dislodg'd 'em, he with two thousand Men took Possession of the Post of the *Agrianian* Archers, intending to cover and facilitate the Passage of the *Phalanx* over the River: The Enemy having observ'd this, march'd with their whole Army towards the Mountains, that those that were compleatly arm'd, having gain'd the other side of the River, they might attack.

tack the Rear, where the King himself was in Person. But the King receiv'd them with an undaunted Courage, and the *Pbalanx* huzzaing at the same time, as if they design'd to repass the River to succour their Fellow-Soldiers, struck a Terror into the Enemy. The King judging how things would happen, had order'd his Troops to draw up in order of Battle, as soon as they were landed on the other side, and to extend their Left (which was nearest the River and the Enemy) as far as they could, that they might make the greater Appearance. By which Stratagem the *Taulanti*, imagining the whole Army was ready to fall upon them, retir'd a little. *Alexander* therefore taking this Opportunity, march'd in all haste to the River, where being arriv'd, he pass'd it over with the first Body; and as the Enemy harraß'd very much those that brought up the Rear, he so dispos'd his Machines on the Bank, and play'd so furiously on the Enemy from them, that he forc'd 'em to give back. They that were already enter'd the River, plying them at the same time with their Darts and Arrows. By this means he march'd off quietly, without the Loss of one Man. Three Days after, he was inform'd, that the Enemy imagining he was fled through Fear, and looking on themselves to be out of all Danger, straggled up and down without Order, having neither Breast-work nor Trench before their Camp, nor so much as Guards or Centinels: Taking therefore with him the Archers and *Agrianians*, and that Body of *Macedonians* that *Perdiccas* and *Cynos* commanded, he repass'd the River in the Night, and march'd towards them with the utmost Diligence, commanding the rest of the Army to follow him. But being apprehensive he should let slip the Opportunity, if he waited till that came up, he sent before him the light arm'd Soldiers, then falling himself with the rest

rest upon the Enemy, that was half asleep, and without Arms, he made a great Slaughter of 'em, took a good number Prisoners, and put the rest to flight, pursuing them as far as the Mountains of the *Taulantij*. *Clitus*, in so great a Consternation, first went to *Pelium*; but afterwards, either distrusting the Fortifications of the Place, or the Courage of his Men, setting fire to the Town, he went and liv'd in Exile among the *Taulantij*.

About this time a Rumour was spread all over Greece that *Alexander* was kill'd by the *Triballi*, which fill'd the Enemies of the *Macedonian* Interest, with great hopes of some Revolution. And indeed it may be reckon'd none of the least Misfortunes in human Affairs; that how inconsiderable soever the Authority is, we are apt to believe those things we wish for, with as much Confidence and Assurance, as if an impertinent and ill-grounded Opinion was able to bear down even Truth itself.

Nay, there was one went so far, as to affirm, that he saw the King surrounded; and that they might the less doubt of the Truth hereof, he assur'd them, he had himself receiv'd a Wound in that Action. This being easily credited, and spread up and down, was the occasion of the greatest Calamities to the *Thebans*. For some of them that *Philip* had banish'd, being animated and encourag'd by it, did, under the Conduct of *Phenix* and *Prothytes*, basely murder the Officers of the *Macedonians*, that kept Garrison in the *Cadmea*, as they were walk'd out of that Citadel, not having the least suspicion of any Treachery; and the Citizens flocking together on the specious and plausible account of delivering their Country from Oppression, besieg'd the Garrison, surrounding it with a double Rampart and Ditch, to prevent their receiving either Provisions or Succour.

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This done, they sent Embassadors in a suppliant manner to all the *Greek Towns*, to entreat them that they would not refuse their Assistance to those who were so generously endeavouring to recover the Liberty they had been so unworthily depriv'd of. *Demosthenes* too, out of an ancient Pique to the *Macedonians*, mov'd the *Athenians* to send speedy Succours to 'em : They were not however sent, because they were so surpriz'd at the unexpected Arrival of *Alexander*, that they thought it advisable to see first which way Fortune was inclin'd. *Demosthenes* nevertheless sent the *Thebans* what private Assistance he could, supplying them with a great quantity of Arms at his own Expence ; by the help whereof, they who had by *Philip* been depriv'd of their own, straiten'd the Garrison of *Cadmea* very much.

There was also a strong Body of *Peloponesians* got together at the *Isthmus*, to whom *Antipater* (who was Governor of *Macedonia* in the King's Absence) having dispatch'd Messengers, requiring them not to joyn with *Alexander's* profess'd Enemies in violation of the General Decree of all *Greece* ; they, notwithstanding, gave Audience to the *Theban* Embassadors. The generality of the Soldiers seem'd to be mov'd with Compassion ; but *Astylus* their Leader, who was an *Arcadian* by Extraction, spun out the time in Delays ; not so much out of any apprehension he had, from the Difficulty of the Undertaking, as out of an avaricious Temper ; hoping, that their pressing Necessities requiring a speedy Succour, he should obtain from them a larger Sallary. He demanded ten Talents, but the *Thebans* not being able to make them up, those of the *Macedonian* Party, offer'd him that Sum to be quiet. Thus the *Thebans* were frustrated of their hopes of any Assistance from the *Arcadians*. However, *Demosthenes* with
a sum.

a sum of Money prevented some other Troops of *Peloponessus* from taking up Arms against the *Thebans*; for he is said to have receiv'd three hundred Talents from the *Persians*, in order to embarras *Alexander's* Affairs as much as he could. *Alexander* receiving Advice hereof, he march'd his Army with all possible Expedition along *Bordea* and *Elymiotis*, and the Rocks *Stymphæa* and *Pargæa*, and the seventh day after he set out from *Pelium*, he arriv'd at *Pellene* a Town in *Thessaly*. In six days more he reach'd *Bæotia*, marching to *Orchestus*, which is about six Miles distant from *Thebes*. In the mean time the *Thebans* acted with greater Courage than Prudence, as being entirely ignorant of the Enemies Transactions. They did not believe the *Macedonian* Army had yet pass'd the *Pyle*; and as for the King's coming in Person, they were so far from giving Credit to it, that they did not scruple to assert it was another *Alexander*, the Son of *Æropus*, that now headed the Army.

The King having pitch'd his Camp near the Temple of *Iolæus*, before the Gate *Pratida*, was resolv'd to give 'em leisure to repent: But they instead thereof made a Sally, and fell upon the Out-Guards of the *Macedonians*, killing some, and driving the rest from their Post, and were got pretty near the Camp, when the King order'd the light arm'd Troops to drive them back. The next day the King advanc'd his Army to the Gates that lead towards *Attica*, that he might be ready at hand to succour those that were shut up in the Citadel, still expecting their last Resolution; and giving them to understand he was yet dispos'd to pardon them, if they did but repent of their Error. But they that were inclin'd to Peace, were over-rul'd by the Power of the Exiles, and the Interest of those who had recall'd 'em; for they being sensible there was

no

no hopes of Safety for them, if the *Macedonians* became Masters of the Town, chose rather to be bury'd in the Ruins of their Country, than to purchase its Safety with their own Destruction.

They had also prevail'd with some of the Princes of *Bæotia* to come into their Measures: But to what degree of Folly and Madness they were arriv'd, will from hence appear; that when *Alexander* requir'd they would deliver up to him, the Authors of the Rebellion, assuring them, that two Heads should expiate the Crime of the whole City; they were so bold as to demand on their part, that *Alexander* would surrender to them *Philotas* and *Antipater*, two of the greatest Favourites the King had; and at the same time caus'd a Herald to make Proclamation, *That if any were willing to joyn with the great King (meaning the King of Persia) and the Thebans against the Tyrant, for the Recovery of their Liberty, they might repair to Thebes, as to a place of Safety.*

All this notwithstanding, *Alexander* did not give orders for the storming of the Town; but as *Ptolomeus* relates (though there are some that give another Account) *Perdiccas* (who commanded that part of the Army that fac'd the Works the Enemy had cast up, in order to block up the *Cadmean* Fort) fell furiously upon them without expecting the Signal; so that having forc'd the Works, he came to a close Engagement with them. *Amyntas* (who lay next to him) charg'd them at the same time with the Troops under his Command, being encourag'd by his Example; all which *Alexander* observing, and fearing the ill Success of his Men, approach'd with the main Body of the Army; and having commanded the light arm'd Troops to succour their Companions, he remain'd with the rest before the Trenches.

68 Freinshemius's Supplement

The Fight was obstinate, and *Perdiccas* (being desperately wounded, as he was labouring to force the inward Retrenchment) was carry'd off from the place of Action ; a great many of the *Cretan* Archers, with their Leader *Eurybotas*, were destroy'd. The *Thebans* press'd hard upon the *Macedonians* (who in their Fright gave way) and pursu'd 'em as they retir'd to *Alexander*. Whereupon the King having drawn up the *Phalanx* in order of Battle, fell upon the Enemy, whose Troops were in Confusion and Disorder, and routed 'em.

It was here that Fortune shifting the Scene, the *Thebans* were put into such a Consternation, that they had not presence of Mind enough to shut the Gates after them, through which they enter'd the Town. The Garrison of the *Cadmea* sallying out at the same time, into the Streets that lay next the Citadel, produc'd such a happy Effect, that the noblest City in all *Greece* was taken the very same day it was attack'd. There was no instance of Cruelty omitted in the Destruction of this unhappy Place ; Men and Women were promiscuously slaughter'd, nor did Weakness and Childhood find Compassion.

This inhuman Barbarity was chiefly owing to the *Phocenses*, *Plataenses*, the *Orchomeni* and the *Thespienses*, to whom the Prosperity and Wealth of *Thebes* had been by reason of its Vicinity, very pernicious and prejudicial. As for the *Macedonians*, they kept themselves within the bounds of the Laws of War.

Orders were now giv'n, to abstain from any farther Slaughter, there having perish'd already Six thousand Men, the rest were made Prisoners, of whom Thirty thousand Free Persons were sold. *Clitarchus* says, that the whole Booty amounted to Four hundred and forty Talents : Others will have

have it, that the very Captives were sold for that Sum. The *Theffali* were indebted to the *Thebans* in a Hundred Talents ; which Sum *Alexander* forgave 'em, as being his Allies. Some few, who were known to have been against the War, escap'd Captivity, as also the Priests, and those with whom the King and his Father had us'd to reside when in that Town ; among the rest, *Timoclea* receiv'd as a Reward of her Noble and Manly Behaviour, not only her Liberty, but likewise the Honour of having her Fame celebrated to Posterity.

A certain *Thracian*, who was a Captain of Horse in *Alexander's* Service, having offer'd Violence to this Woman, in a threatening manner ask'd her, where she had hid her most valuable Effects ? She being more afflicted at the loss of her Honour, than concern'd for her Riches, turn'd the Covetousness of the Barbarian into an Opportunity of Revenge ; and pointing to a Well, she pretended she had secured therein her Jewels, and other Things of Value ; he presently went thither, and as he was with a greedy Curiosity looking down the Well, she tripp'd up his Heels, and push'd him into it, and flinging Stones upon him, kill'd him ; he labouring in vain to get out of it, it being very deep and narrow. His Men seiz'd her, and brought her before *Alexander*, that she might be duly punish'd, for having kill'd their Officer. The King having ask'd her who she was, and what she was brought before him for ? she, with an undaunted Countenance, reply'd, *That she was the Sister of that Theagnis who commanded the Thebans ; and lost his Life for the Liberty of Greece. I have reveng'd the Affront that was offer'd me, by killing the Ravisher of my Honour. If you command me to suffer Death, by way of Atonement, know, that to a vertuous Woman, there is nothing so despicable as Life, after her Chastity*
has

has been violated; let me then perish as soon as you please, I shall still die late enough, since I am so unhappy as to have outliv'd my Reputation and Country. *Alexander* having with Attention heard her, declar'd the *Thracian* deservedly kill'd; and that he neither approv'd nor allow'd of Rapes to be committed on Gentlewomen, and those that were Free-born: Having therefore spoke much in her Commendation, he gave her her Liberty, and on her Account, to all her Kindred, with the Privilege of departing to what Place she pleas'd: He also pardon'd *Pindar's* Posterity, out of Respect to that Poet, who had made mention in his Poems, of *Alexander* the present King's Great-Grand-father, and gave Orders that his House should not be burnt. For he not only lov'd the Virtue of his own Days, but also had a Veneration for the Memory of Great Men, heaping Favours on their Posterity. For afterwards having, in the last Action against *Darius*, overcome that Prince, he sent part of the Booty to the *Crotoniates*, in consideration, that in *Xerxes's* War, when all the rest of the *Greek* Colonies despair'd of *Greece*, they had sent one Galley to *Salamis*, under the Command of *Phayllus*. He likewise bestow'd several Honours and Gifts on the *Platæans*, because their Ancestors had given their Territory to those *Greeks* that fought against *Marodonius*.

The Destruction of *Thebes* was preceded by several strange and wonderful Appearances. About three Months before *Alexander's* coming before *Thebes*, was observ'd in the Temple of *Ceres*, call'd *Theismophoros*, a Black Cobweb, which had appear'd White about the time of the *Leuctrian* Fight, by which *Thebes* attain'd to its highest point of Glory and Prosperity: And a little before the arrival of the *Macedonians*, the Statues in the *Forum* were

seen to sweat, and dismal Cryes were heard from the Lake, near *Onchestus*, which, together with the Fountain *Dirce's* issuing great Streams of Blood, instead of Water, might have terrify'd these obstinate People, if their Pride had not predestin'd them to their Ruine. For looking back on the Glory of their Ancestors, whose Manners they had altogether forsaken, they promis'd themselves the same good Fortune and Success, without having the same Vertue and Merit, and so hasten'd on their Destiny; for they were so foolishly rash, as with little more than an Army of Ten thousand, to make Head against Thirty thousand Foot, and Three thousand Horse, all Veteran Troops.

Alexander having made himself Master of the Place, call'd a Council of his Allies and Friends, and referr'd it to them, to consider what Use should be made of it. There were amongst 'em *Phoceans*, and a great many *Bæotians*, whose ancient Discords with the *Thebans* had been very detrimental to 'em. These could not think themselves either sufficiently reveng'd, or their Safety duly provided for, if *Thebes* should be left standing; wherefore their Authority prevail'd, that the Walls and Edifices should be demolish'd, and the Territory belonging to it should be divided among the Conquerors, at the Pleasure of the King. Thus one Day took from the very middle of *Greece* this noble City, that could boast of not only having produc'd Great Men, but even Gods, after it had for almost Eight hundred Years from the Oracle of the Crows, been inhabited by the same People.

The *Bæotians* having been formerly driven out of their Country by the *Thracians* and *Pelagians*, they were told by the Oracle, That after four Ages, they should recover their paternal Habitations, that

in the mean time they should settle themselves where they should behold white Crows. Being therefore come to *Arne*, a Town in *Thessaly*, and seeing some Crows that the Children had whiten'd over with Parget, they settl'd there. The Town was demolish'd at the Sound of the Flute, in the same manner as *Lyfander* had threescore Years before demolish'd *Athens*. However, *Alexander* gave Orders to abstain from the Temples and other sacred Buildings, being solicitous, least through want of Care, they might also be damnify'd; being inclin'd to it (besides his own natural Veneration for the Gods) by the sad Example that had been made of some Soldiers, who attempted to pillage the Temple of the *Cabiri* that stood before the Town; who, while they were employ'd in this prophane and impious Work, were consum'd by a sudden Storm of Thunder and Lightning. The Images and the Statues of the Gods, as well as those of Men renown'd for their Virtue, were also left untouch'd in the publick Places where they stood; and it is recorded, that in the Consternation and Fright People were in, upon the taking and plundering the City, some had hid their Gold in the Folds and Plaits of the Garments of those Statues, and found it safe, when *Cassander*, *Antipater's* Son, twenty Years after, rebuilt the Town; which he is thought to have done, not so much out of Compassion to the Exiles, as out of Hatred to *Alexander*, thinking to lessen his Glory by that Action. But notwithstanding he restor'd the former Compass of its Walls, yet he could not restore its ancient Manners and Prosperity; so that it never could recover its primitive Strength, but being frequently afflicted with Calamities, it has with Difficulty preserved to our Days, the Appearance of a small inconsiderable Town. It is said, that *Alexander* afterwards repented what he had done, when he reflected,

lected, that by the Destruction of *Thebes*, he had put out one of the Eyes of Greece: It is also said, he look'd upon the Death of *Clitus*, and the Obstinacy of the *Macedonians*, who cowardly refus'd to penetrate any farther into the *Indies*, as a vindictive Judgment of *Bacchus* upon him, for having ruin'd and destroy'd the Place of his Birth; nay, some did not scruple to say, that the King's Death that proceeded from an Excess of Wine, was also a Punishment inflicted on him by the Resentments of that Deity.

These things being finish'd, he sent to *Athens*, to let the People know, *that he requir'd they would deliver up to him those Orators, that were perpetually stirring them up against the Macedonians; and that if they were unwilling to part with 'em, they must expect the same Reward of their Contumacy; as they might view in a late instance of the Miseries of the Thebans.* Upon this, *Phocion*, (who was in great Esteem with the People, on the account of the integrity of his Life) representing *that it was not advisable to irritate and provoke the Mind of the young victorious King; and that he exhorted those whom the Danger particularly threaten'd, that in imitation of the Daughters of Leus and Hyacinthus, they would not scruple to lay down their Lives for the Good of their Country.* *Demosthenes* who was by name demanded, now rose up, and inform'd them, *That the Athenians were mistaken, if they imagin'd, that by the surrender of a few, they should procure safety to themselves; that on the contrary, the Macedonians cunningly requir'd those Persons from 'em, whose Vigilance and Vertue they most suspected and hated; and that having remov'd the Patrons and Protectors of the publick Liberty, they would afterward fall upon the defenceless and destitute City, as Wolves do upon the Sheep, when their Guardian Dogs are remov'd.*

Demosthenes had shewn himself a bitter Enemy of the *Macedonians*, and therefore very reasonably concluded, there was not the least room left him to hope for Mercy. For *Philip* being kill'd, he mov'd the *Athenians* to build a Chappel in Honour of *Pausanias*; that publick Thanksgivings might be made in the Temples of the Gods, and that all the other usual marks of great Joy might be express'd; calling *Alexander* sometimes a Child, and sometimes the *Margite*; a word of contempt, that meant his prodigious Folly and Madnefs. And being corrupted by the *Persian* Gold, he had been the Incendiary and Promoter of almost all the Wars the *Greeks* had made with *Alexander*, and *Philip* his Father.

He had beside excited *Attalus* (who was *Alexander's* bitterest Enemy) to declare open War against the King, promising him the Assistance of the *Athenians*. And the *Athenians* had not offended a little, having cast down *Philip's* Statues, and converting the Materials to the most Scandalous Uses; committing besides all the other Indignities the ignorant Rabble (who have no concern for the future) are apt to be guilty of, when instigated by the Direction and Management of a few. But of all their Transgressions, none offended the King so much, as the Humanity and Compassion they express'd for the *Thebans*; whom they had contrary to his Edict receiv'd, when they made their escape from the Ruins of their Country; shewing so great a Concern for their Misfortunes, as to put off the Solemnity of the Mysteries they were wont to celebrate with the greatest Devotion every Year in honour of *Bacchus*, merely on the account of this publick Calamity. But out of his strong inclination to the *Persian* War, he chose rather to forgive the *Greeks* their Injuries, than to punish them.

Wherefore

Wherefore *Demades* (who had been in great favour with *Philip*) having presented to him the humble Intercessions of the City, he granted to the *Athenians*, that they should keep *Demosthenes*, *Lycurgus*, and the others he had requir'd of 'em, provided they did but banish *Charidemus*. Here-upon *Charidemus* went over to the *Persians*, and did them great Service ; 'till giving his Tongue too great a liberty, he was kill'd by *Darius's* Order. Many other considerable Persons, out of hatred to the King, left the City, and repair'd to his Enemies, and gave the *Macedonians* a great deal of trouble. After so great a tide of Success, there was no Power left in *Greece* ; that reflecting on the *Theban* Victory (whose heavy arm'd Soldiers were formerly in great esteem,) or on the taking of *Leucadia*, could repose any confidence, either in their own Strength, or that of any Fortifications ; for he reduc'd the *Leucadians* (who were elated and arrogant, on the account of the strong scituation of their Town, and the great quantity of Stores and Provisions they had laid in for a long Siege) by Famine ; first making himself Master of all the Forts and Castles round it, and giving to those he found therein, liberty to go into *Leucadia* ; by which means the People daily encreasing in multitude, soon empty'd their Magazines. Ambassadors were therefore sent him from *Peloponnesus*, to congratulate him on his having, according to his desire, finish'd the War against the *Barbarians*, and chastis'd the Insolence and Temerity of some of the *Greeks*.

The *Arcadians*, who had been in motion, preparing to assist the *Thebans*, gave him to understand they had pass'd Sentence of Death on those Leaders who had been the cause of their extravagant Proceedings. The *Elei* acquainted him likewise that they recall'd those they had banish'd, out

76 Freinshemius's Supplement, &c.

of this Consideration only, that *Alexander* had a kindness for them : And the *Ætoli* excus'd themselves, that in so general a Disturbance of *Greece*, they had not been free from some evil Practices. The *Megareans* caus'd the King and those about him to laugh, by the new kind of Honour they pretended to confer upon him ; telling him, *That in consideration of his good disposition and favours to the Greeks, the Megareans had by a Decree of the People, made him free of their City.* But being afterwards inform'd, that to that very day they had not bestow'd that Honour on any except *Hercules*, he graciously accepted of it. To the others he made Answer, *That he had nothing more at heart, than the Quiet and Safety at Greece ; and that provided they refrain'd making any disturbance for the time to come, he readily forgave 'em what was past.* However he very much distrusted the *Spartans*, and therefore restor'd the Sons of *Philius* to *Alcessene*, from whence they had been driv'n ; he gave also to *Charon* the Government of *Pelene*, a Town belonging to the *Acheans*, and put *Sicyon* and other Towns of *Peloponnesus* into the hands of his Friends and Dependents, that they might have an Eye upon the Counsels and Deportment of the *Lacedemonians*.

A few Months suffic'd him for the performance of so many great and weighty things ; in which he put an end to so difficult and doubtful a War, with more ease than another could in that time have been prepar'd for it. He acknowledg'd he ow'd his Conquest to Expedition and Celerity ; telling one that ask'd him by what means he chiefly subdu'd *Greece* ? *that it was by delaying nothing.*

The



The Second BOOK
OF
John Freinshemius's Supplement
TO
QUINTUS CURTIUS.

CHAP. I.



DARIUS was King of *Persia* at that Time ; having been rais'd to that Dignity by the Interest of *Bagoas* the Eunuch, a little before the Death of *Philip*. King *Ochus* and his Son *Arſes* being dead, and all that Line utterly extinct, *Bagoas* thought it advisable to make a friendly Present of that Empire which he could not keep himself ; judging he should for ever be sure of the Favour of him he should so highly oblige. At the same time *Darius* was not look'd upon by the People to be unworthy of that high Station, he not being altogether a Stranger to the Royal Family. For *Oſtanes*, *Ochus's* Unkle, had

for his Son *Arfanes*, who was Father to *Cadmanus*; this being *Darius's* Name, while a private Person. But after he was seated in *Cyrus's* Throne, according to the Custom of the *Persians*, he laid aside his former Name, and took that of *Darius*. He had also distinguish'd himself in the Army, having kill'd his Adversary upon a Challenge, during the War *Ochus* was engag'd in against the *Cadusii*, and thereby establish'd a great opinion of his Bravery and Courage. He was the tenth from *Cyrus* (who founded that Empire) who recover'd *Persia*. For *Ochus* succeeded *Artaxerxes* his Father, who had succeeded *Darius*. To this, *Artaxerxes* the Son of *Xerxes* left the Kingdom. *Xerxes* succeeded his Father *Darius*, who was the Son of *Hystaspes*, and who (when *Cyrus's* Line was extinct by the Death of *Cambyses*) in the famous Conspiracy of seven *Persians*, wrested the Empire from the *Magi*. Under these Kings the *Persian* Affairs flourish'd in an un-exampl'd state of Prosperity, for the space of two hundred and almost thirty Years; having had a noble and brave beginning; while the Nation no way addicted to Pleasure and Voluptuousness, fought gallantly for Liberty, Glory, and Riches. In process of time, when they had reap'd the advantageous Fruits of their Vertue, they at length neglected the thing it self, and ow'd their Safety not so much to their own Strength and Bravery, as to the Reputation of the Power their Ancestors had acquir'd, and their Riches; with which however they were not much less successful against the *Greeks* than with their Arms.

At last then, when they found their Gold ineffectually oppos'd to the Power of *Alexander*, and that upon the Removal of all other Foreign Means of Assistance, they were now to depend upon themselves; so debauched were their Minds, their
Spirits

Spirits so broken and soften'd to so low a degree of Effeminacy, that they could not support themselves under the first shock of their declining Fortune. *For Poverty sharpens Industry; whereas Luxury and Idleness are the Effects of Affluence and Plenty.* Being, however, inform'd of the Death of *Philip*, (whose Success and Preparations alarm'd and terrify'd 'em) they were freed from their Fears; and despis'd *Alexander's* Youth, who they imagin'd would be well enough satisfy'd, if he might walk up and down unmolested at *Pella*. But receiving every Day fresh Intelligences of his Wars and Victories, they began very much to dread the Youth they before contemn'd; and accordingly, with great Care and Diligence, prepar'd themselves for a vigorous and long War. And having in their former Wars found by Experience, that the *Asiatick* Troops were not a Match for the *Europeans*, they sent proper Persons into *Greece*, to hire into their Service Fifty thousand Men, the Flower of the Youth of that Country. *Memnon* the *Rhodian* was appointed to command these Forces, he having on several Occasions given the *Persians* Proof of his Fidelity and Bravery. He was order'd to make himself Master of *Cyzicum*; marching therefore in great diligence through that part of *Phrygia* that joins to the *Trojan* Territory, he came to Mount *Ida*, which declares the Nature of its Situation by its Name; for the Antients us'd to call all Places which were planted thick with Trees, *Ida's*. This Mountain rises higher than any of the rest that are near the *Hellepont*. In the middle of it there is a Cave much celebrated in Fables, out of a religious Horror; for it is said, the *Trojan* here pass'd his judgment on the Beauty of the Goddesses, when having been expos'd by his Father's Command, he was educated to Manhood upon this Mountain. It is said also to

have been the Birth-place of the *Idean* Dactyles, who by the Instruction of *Cybele*, or the Great Mother, found out the various Uses of Iron; it being no less useful and beneficial to us, when our Occasions require it, or our Labours, than pernicious, when it is the cruel Instrument of our Anger and Rage. There is another thing worthy Admiration, reported of it, *viz.* That when the Winds, at the rise of the *Dog-star*, ruffle and disturb the lower Parts, the Air in the top of Mount *Ida* is calm and quiet: As also, that while there is yet a great part of the Night hovering over the Earth, the Sun is there to be seen, not in the Figure of a Globe or Round, but extended in a large Breadth, and embracing both sides of the Mountain, as it were, with distinct Bodies of Fire, 'till by degrees it unites again, and becomes one; and that at the approach of the Light, it does not take up a greater space than that of an Acre of Ground; and contracting itself a little after into its usual Compass, it performs its appointed Course. As for my part, I am of Opinion, that this false Miracle appears to our Eyes, when the imperfect Image of the Rising Sun spreads itself through the Air that is condens'd by the Nocturnal Cold, and no way shaken or divided by the Wind, 'till the Sun thawing and dissipating it by degrees, gives the Eye a free Passage to the Orb of this Planet: For then the Air is pure and serene, and the Rays of the Sun are easily transmitted through it; whereas when it is condens'd, it obstructs and stops them, and as if they fell upon a Looking-glass, it disperses 'em with an Encrease of Splendor and Brightness.

The Territory of *Cyzicum* extends itself from the foot of Mount *Ida* to *Propontis*. The Town is situate in an Island of a moderate compass, being

ing join'd to the Continent by two Bridges. But *Alexander* undertook the Work some time after, and was upon the Sea when *Memnon* undertook his Expedition. *Memnon* having, by his unexpected Attempt, in vain terrify'd the *Cyzikians*, (the Inhabitants making a vigorous Resistance, and defending themselves gallantly) was forc'd to retire, having first plunder'd the Country round about it, and carry'd off a considerable Booty. All this while the *Macedonian* Generals were not idle; for *Parmenio* took *Grynium* a Town in *Æolia*, and made Slaves of the Inhabitants: After which, passing the River *Caicus*, he lay down before *Pitane*, a rich and wealthy Place, having two convenient Ports, whereby it could receive Relief from *Europe*; but, upon the seasonable arrival of *Memnon*, he was forc'd to raise the Siege. *Calas*, with a small number of *Macedonians*, and some hir'd Troops, carry'd the War into the Country of *Troy*, and came to an Engagement with the *Persians*; but finding he was not a Match for their Multitude, he retir'd to *Rhœtium*.

CHAP. II.

IN the mean time, *Alexander* having settled the Affairs of *Greece*, and being return'd to *Macedon*, was deliberating with his Friends about those Things he ought to provide against, and about those he ought to execute, before he enter'd upon so great a War. *Antipater* and *Parmenio*, who were the chief amongst 'em, both for their Age and Quality, earnestly begg'd of him, that he would not in one Person expose the Welfare and Prosperity of the whole Empire to the treacherous Uncertainties of Fortune, but would first marry

82 Freinshemius's Supplement

and get Children; and having by that means provided for the Safety of his Country, afterwards apply himself to the enlarging his Dominions. The reason of which Advice was, that there was at this time only *Alexander* left of *Philip's* Blood, that was worthy of the Empire, *Olympias* having destroy'd all *Cleopatra's* Issue: And *Aridaus*, on the account of the mean Extraction of his Mother, and the Disturbance of his Mind, was look'd upon as one that would not become the *Macedonian* Sceptre. However, *Alexander* being of a restless Temper, could think of nothing but War, and the Glory that results from Victory; wherefore he reply'd in this manner: *Like Men of Probity, and good Patriots, you are not without Cause solicitous about the thing that may either benefit or damnify your Country. No body can deny but it is a hard and difficult Task we are undertaking; which if we rashly attempt, and the Event should not answer Expectation, a late Repentance could make no Amends: For it is our Business, before we hoist our Sails, to consult, whether it be adviseable to undertake the Voyage, or keep quiet at Home. But when we have once committed ourselves to the Winds and the Waves, we are altogether at their Mercy. I therefore do not take it ill, that you differ from my Opinion; on the contrary, I commend your Sincerity, and desire you will shew the same Integrity with reference to those Matters that shall hereafter become the Subjects of our Debates. They, who are really their King's Friends, if there be any worthy that Title, in their Advice, do not so much consider how to procure this Favour, as how to promote their Interest and their Glory. He that advises any otherwise than he would act himself, is so far from instructing him that consults him, that he imposes upon him, and deceives him. Now that I may lay my own Opinion open to you,*
I am

I am satisfy'd, that nothing is less conducive to the Interest of my Affairs, than Delay. After having curb'd all the Barbarians in the Neighbourhood of Macedon, and quieted the Commotions of Greece, shall we suffer a brave and victorious Army to waste away in Ease and Idleness, or lead it into the wealthy Provinces of Asia, which they have already taken Possession of in Hopes; desiring the Spoils of the Persians, as a Reward of those Labours they have gone through in their long Service under my Father, and for these three Years past under our Command? Darius is but lately come to the Crown, and by his putting Bagoas to Death, by whose means he obtain'd it, has giv'n his People a Suspicion of his being both cruel and ungrateful, which Vices are apt to cause an Aversion in the best Subjects against their Rulers, and to render 'em less ready to Obey, if not altogether Refractory. Shall we sit still then till he has confirm'd his Authority, and having settl'd his Affairs at home, of his own accord, translates the War into Macedon? There are great Advantages to be reap'd from Celerity and Dispatch, which, if we lye still, will accrue to the Enemy.

The first Inclination of the Mind, is of great Moment in things of this Nature; now that is always ready for them that lay hold of it: For no Body by delay, courts the Reputation of being strongest and bravest: But he is esteem'd the strongest and bravest, that declares and carries abroad the War, and not he that receives it at home. Besides, how much shall we hazard our Reputation, if we deceive the Hopes of them, who, notwithstanding our Youth, have thought us worthy of that Honour that our Father, who was a Great Captain, and had given so many Proofs of his Bravery and Conduct, did not yet receive till a little before his Death? Nor did the Council of Greece decree us the Sovereign Command, that we should live idly in Macedon, minding nothing but

84 Freinshemius's Supplement

our Pleasures, without the least Concern for former Injuries, and those that have of late been offer'd to the Grecian Name: But that we should revenge and punish these Insolencies; which the Extravagance of their Pride has induced them to offer with such an Air of Boldness and Arrogance. What shall I say of those Greek Nations, that being scattered up and down Asia, are oppress'd by the insupportable Slavery of the licentious Barbarians? It were needless to represent to you with what Prayers and Arguments Delius the Ephesian pleaded their Cause, since it is still fresh in your Memories. This is however certain, that the very Moment they behold our Standards, they will immediately repair to us, and readily embrace the greatest of Dangers, for the sake of their Deliverers and Protectors, against their unjust, cruel, and inhuman Masters. But why, as if we had forgot our selves and our Enemies, should we look about for Assistance and Succour against a People, which to be slow in conquering, would redound more to our Shame than Glory? In our Father's Time, a small Body of Lacedæmonians having march'd into Asia, were in vain oppos'd by vast Armies of the Enemy, who suffer'd Phrygia, Lydia, and Paphlagonia, to be harass'd and plunder'd; or if they offer'd to hinder or oppose it, they were beaten and slain, even to the tiring their Enemies with their Slaughter; till Agesilaus being call'd away with the Troops under his Command, on the account of some Commotions in Greece, gave 'em (when they were in the greatest Confusion, and altogether uncertain what measures to take) sufficient Time to recover themselves from their Fright. A few Years before him, scarce ten thousand Grecians without Leaders, and without Provisions, open'd themselves a Passage with their Sword, through so many Nations of Enemies, even to the Heart of the Persian Empire, though they were pursu'd at the
same

same Time by the King's whole Army, with which he had lately disputed the Crown with his Brother Cyrus, and conquer'd him; and yet whenever they came to an Engagement, this victorious Army was always beaten by the Greeks, and put to flight. Shall we then, after we have overcome Greece in so many Victories, and brought it under our Obedience, having either kill'd the bravest amongst 'em, or got 'em in our Camp; Shall we, I say, be afraid of Asia, when a few of those whom we have beaten, have given it so many shameful Defeats?

After this, he said a great deal more to the same Purpose, by which he so mov'd the Minds of his Hearers, that they all came into his Opinion; nay, *Parmenio* himself, who stickl'd most to have the War delay'd, was now for having it enter'd upon with all speed, and even made pressing Speeches to *Alexander* on that account. Wherefore making it his whole Business to get every thing in readiness for his March, he offer'd a solemn Sacrifice to *Jupiter* the *Olympian*, at *Dium* a Town in *Macedon*. This Sacrifice was originally instituted by *Archelaus*, who reign'd after *Perdiccas*, the Son of *Alexander*. He also had Stage-Plays in Honour of the *Muses*, which lasted nine Days, according to the Number of those Goddesses. After this, he gave a magnificent Entertainment, in a Tent that held a hundred Beds; there he feasted with his Friends, his Generals, and the Deputies of the Towns; he order'd likewise, that Part of the Victims should be distributed among the Soldiers with other Provisions, that this Day, which was dedicated to Mirth, might be celebrated with all Entertainments, and lucky Omens of the future War.

C H A P. III.

IN the beginning of the Spring, having gather'd his Forces together, he pass'd into *Asia*; the Strength of his Army consisted more in its Courage and Bravery, than in its Number of Men. *Parmenio* led thirty thousand Foot, of which there were thirteen thousand *Macedonians*, the rest were Troops sent by the Confederates. These were follow'd by five thousand others made of *Illyrians*, *Thracians*, and the *Triballi*, to which were added a thousand *Agrianian* Archers. *Philotas* had the Command of the *Macedonian* Horse that consisted of one thousand eight hundred. *Calas* headed the like Number of *Thessalians*. The rest of *Greece* sent only six hundred Horse, which he gave the Command of to *Erigyus*: *Cassander* commanded the Van, which consisted of nine hundred *Thracians* and *Peonians*. With this Army, having only thirty Days Provision, he ventur'd to make Head against an infinite Number of *Barbarians*, relying on the Strength and Bravery of his Men; who being grown old in a continu'd Series of Victories, were by their Courage and skilful Use of their Arms, more than a Match for any Number of Enemies whatever. He entrusted the Government of *Macedonia* and *Greece*, with *Antipater*, leaving him twelve thousand Foot and fifteen hundred Horse, giving him withal this Charge, to make constant Levies to recruit his Army, and supply the Consumption of War, and the necessary Decays of Mortality. This was the only thing he had reserv'd to himself, when he divided the rest amongst his Friends. For before he took shipping, he had distributed among 'em all that he could, without impairing the Majesty of Regal Dignity. *Perdiccas* refus'd
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the Lands that were offer'd him, and desir'd the King to tell him, what he would have left for himself? To which the King answer'd, *Hopes. Why then*, reply'd he, *we shall partake of them, since we fight under your Conduct and Fortune.* There were a few that imitated him, the rest accepted his Gifts. *Alexander* being again asked, *Where his Treasures were now?* answer'd, *in the Hands of his Friends.* And indeed, as he had flung himself upon Fortune, and staked his All upon the Hazard of her Dice, he did not seem to have misplac'd his Riches: For as by conquering he stood fair for greater, so if he were overcome, he could expect no less than to lose those he had; in the mean time, he was sure of being serv'd with greater Cheerfulness and Alacrity. And as for the present Necessities, they did not suffer much by the Grants he had made of his Lands, Mannors, and Revenues, whose Time of Payment was still remote. As for the Money, it was set apart for the Use of the War, and was with so much the greater Care husbanded in the Dispensation, by how much it was less in Quantity. For when *Philip* was kill'd, there was hardly threescore Talents of coin'd Money in the Exchequer, and a few Silver and Golden Vessels: Whereas the Debts at that Time, amounted to five hundred Talents. And notwithstanding he had very much augmented the *Macedonian* Power and Interest, and so far improv'd the Golden Mines near *Crenides* (which he call'd *Philippos*) that he drew from thence the yearly Income of a thousand Talents; yet by reason of his continual Wars, and the large Presents he made, the Treasury was quite exhausted: He had besides, laid out vast Sums in repairing and adorning *Macedonia*, which he found in a very poor and low Condition. A great many could remember,

ber, that at his coming to the Crown, he was but in indifferent Circumstances, insomuch that he us'd to lay under his Pillow, every Night when he went to Bed, a Gold Cup which he had, that weigh'd about fifty Drachma's. And yet this Man's Son ventur'd to attack the King of *Persia*, who had five thousand Talents of Gold for his Pillow, and three thousand Talents of Silver for his Footstool, plac'd under the Head and Feet of his Bed, in proper Repositories; altho' he had added to his Father's Debts eight hundred Talents which he had taken up upon Loan, of which there hardly remain'd the tenth Part. He is said to have set out, *Timotheus* playing on the Flute, and the Army expressing the greatest Cheerfulness imaginable, as having already engross'd in their Thoughts, all the Wealth and Riches of the *Barbarians* they were going to fight against. After this manner he was carry'd to the *Strymon*, through a Lake call'd *Circinities*, (from a neighbouring Mountain) where he had a Fleet. He came first to *Amphipolis*, from whence he proceeded to the Mouth of the *Strymon*; which having pass'd, he march'd by the side of the Mountain *Pangæus*, and struck into the Way that leads to *Abdera* and *Maronea*. He on purpose march'd along the Shore, that he might be ready to assist his Fleet that sail'd by him, in case the *Persians* should attack it, for they were at that Time also Masters at Sea, and he had but a moderate Fleet: Whereas the Enemy had Ships from *Cyprus* and *Phanicia*, and Mariners harden'd to Sea-affairs, and very experienc'd Rowers. For the *Macedonians* having but lately attempted the Sovereignty of the Sea, did not abound with Ships, and the Allies furnish'd 'em but sparingly, and as it were against their Will. Even the *Athenians*, when they were requir'd to send in their Gallies, sent but twenty.

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Their Orators perswading 'em that it was dangerous, lest upon its Arrival, it should be employ'd against those who had sent it.

From hence he march'd to the River *Hebrus* : which having pass'd without much Difficulty, he came into *Patice*, a Country in *Thrace* ; from thence passing over the River *Melas*, on the twentieth Day from his setting out, he arriv'd at *Seistus*, a Town situate in the Extremity of the Continent, and looking into the *Hellepont*, where the Sea contracting it self into several Windings, divides *Asia* from *Europe* ; for *Macedon* is join'd to *Thrace*, which extending itself to the Eastward in two Points, would reach *Asia* if it were not separated from it by the Sea ; on the right hand the *Hellepont* hinders it, and farther on the *Bosphorus*, firnam'd the *Thracian*, divides *Byzantium* from *Chalcedon*. *Propontis* that is contracted between these Streights, enlarges its Channel near the Countries of *Bithynia* and *Pontus*. Below *Bithynia* lies *Myfia*, and then *Phrygia*, and *Lydia* that joins to that, are more remote from the Sea ; the more inward Provinces that are very spacious and large, and celebrated for their Fertility and Riches, are inhabited by several Nations. The Coasts that face *Thrace* and *Greece* are possess'd by the *Hellepontins*, and farther on by the *Trojans*, famous for their Misfortunes and Calamities. Beneath these *Æolis* and *Ionia*, in a long Extent of Shore, stretch themselves out on the Borders of *Lydia*. In the next Place is *Caria* that joins to the Country of *Doris*, and is in a great measure encompass'd with the Sea, and the Inland Parts of which are of a large Extent. Near these Territories are the noble Islands, the *Æolic Lesbos*, the *Ionian Chius* and *Samus*, and the *Doric Rhodus*, and several others whose Names are celebrated in the Writings of the *Greeks* : For formerly the

the *Greeks* had Colonies in these Places, which were still remaining, but when they became subject to the King of *Persia*, and his Governors, they lost their antient Liberty and became Slaves. *Alexander* being arriv'd at *Sestus*, order'd the greatest Part of his Army to repair to *Abydus*, seated on the opposite Shore, under the Conduct of *Parmenio*, with whom he left for this purpose, a hundred and threescore Gallies, besides several Ships of Burthen : while he with the rest went to *Eleunte*, which is dedicated to *Protesilaus*, whose Grave is there, with a Tomb erected to his Memory. The Tomb is encompass'd with a great many Elms, which are of a wonderful Nature ; for the Leaves that put out in the Morning, on those Branches that look towards *Huim*, fall immediately, while the others retain a lasting Verdure : It is thought that they hereby express the untimely Fate of the Hero, who being in the Flower of his Age, when he accompany'd the *Greeks* in their *Asian* Expedition, fell the first Victim of the *Trojan* War. *Alexander* therefore paying him the Rites of the Dead, implor'd that he might be attended with better Fortune when he landed on the Enemies Shore. From hence he went to *Sigeum* taking with him fifty Gallies, and beheld that Haven that was become remarkable by the *Greeks* putting in there with their Fleet in the *Trojan* War. When he was in the middle of the *Helle-spont* (for he himself was Pilot of his own Ship) he sacrific'd a Bull to *Neptune* and the *Nereïds*, flinging the golden Vessel (out of which he had made the Libation) into the Sea, as a Present to the Deities of the Sea. The Fleet being come into the Harbour, the King casting a Dart upon the Shore, leap'd out of the Ship, and was the first who landed, protesting at the same time, *that with the Assistance of the Gods, he propos'd by a just War*

War to make himself Master of Asia. He afterwards erected Altars in the Place where he made his Descent, to *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, and *Hercules*; he also order'd Altars to be built in that Place of *Europe* from whence he set out.

CHAP. IV.

FROM hence he proceeded on to the Plains, where he was shew'd the Seat of the ancient *Troy*. Here, while he was examining curiously the Monuments of the Works of the Heroes, one of the Inhabitants, promis'd him *Paris's* Harp: To whom he made Answer, *That he did not set any Value on the mean Instrument of Effeminate Pleasures: But give me, if you can, that of Achilles, on which he us'd to celebrate the Praises of the Heroes, with the same Hand, with which he surpass'd their Atchievements.* For he was a great Admirer of *Achilles*, valuing himself for being descended from him; he therefore with his Friends run naked round his Tomb, and anointed it with Oyl, and adorned it with a Crown. *Hephaestion* likewise put a Crown upon that of *Patroclus*: hinting thereby that he held the same Rank in *Alexander's* Favour, that the other did in *Achilles's*. Among the various Discourses they had concerning *Achilles*, the King said, *he look'd upon him to have been doubly happy; for having had, while living, a true and faithful Friend; and when dead, a good Poet to celebrate his Actions.* He also sacrific'd to the other Heroes, whose Tombs are to be seen in those Countries. He offer'd Sacrifices likewise to *Priamus*, on *Hereius's* Altar, either to appease his Ghost, as having being kill'd by *Achilles's* Son; or else on the Account of the Relation
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he thought there was between him and the *Trojans*, since *Neoptolemus* marry'd *Andromache*, *Hector's* Widow. He with great Devotion sacrific'd to *Minerva*, for whom he had a particular Veneration : and hanging up his Arms in the Temple, he took down others that were said to have been there, ever since the time of the *Trojan* War. These he caus'd to be bore before him, as if they were lent him by the favour of the Deity, to conquer and subdue *Asia*; and it is said he actually had them on, when he fought the *Persian* Generals near the *Granicum* : Otherwise he took great Delight in fine Arms, being in nothing so nice as in them. I find him to have made use of a Buckler that was very bright, and that his Headpiece was finely set off with a Tuft of Feathers, that fell down on each Side, and were remarkable for their extreme Whiteness and Largeness. It is true his Headpiece was of Iron, but then it was so neatly polish'd that it look'd like Silver, and was the Work of *Theophilus*. His Collar was also of Iron, but it was curiously adorn'd with precious Stones, that cast a glorious Lustre. His Sword was remarkable both for its Edge and Temper; and it was the more valuable for this, that notwithstanding its Strength, it was light and easily handl'd. Over this Armour he would sometimes wear a military Sur-tout of that kind that was then call'd the *Sicilian* Fashion. Some of these Arms he had not till afterwards; as for Instance, the Breast-plate which we mention'd, was found amongst the Spoils after the Battel near *Iffus*; the Sword was presented him by the King of the *Citici* a People of *Cyprus*. The *Rhodians* made him a Present of his Belt, which was wrought with incomparable Art, by *Helicon* that famous Artificer. We are not asham'd to relate these Particulars which have deservedly found Place in
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the Works of ancient Authors ; besides the Sayings and Actions of great Kings, how minute and light soever they may be, are reflected on, with both Profit and Pleasure. It is most certain that the Arms of *Alexander* were held in great Esteem by following Ages, nay Time it self, that general Destroyer, seem'd to shew a respect to 'em ; for one of the *Roman* Generals, after the Conquest of the *Pontick* Kingdoms, wore his Cloak at the Solemnity of his Triumph ; another having put on his Breast Plate, run up and down the Bridge he had made over the Sea, in Imitation of *Darius* and *Xerxes*. *Alexander* march'd from the Temple of *Minerva* to *Arisbe*, where the *Macedonians*, that *Parmeris* commanded, were encamp'd.

The next day he pass'd by the Towns *Percote* and *Lampsacus*, and came to the River *Praëtius* ; which rising out of the *Idæan* Mountains, runs through the Territories of *Lampsacus* and *Abydus*, and then winding a little to the Northward, empties it self into *Propontis*. From thence passing by *Hermotus*, he march'd to *Colone*, a Town situate in the middle of the *Lampsacenic* Territory. Having taken all these into his Protection, upon their Submission to him (for he had pardon'd the *Lampsacenic*s) he sent *Penegorus* to take Possession of the Town of the *Priapeni*, which the Inhabitants surrender'd to him. Then he order'd *Amyntas*, who was the Son of *Arrabeus*, to take four Troops, (whereof one consisted of *Apollo-niates*, and was commanded by *Socrates*) and go upon the Scout in order to get Intelligence of the Enemy, who was not now far off, and was making all the Preparations possible for the War. Among them *Memnon* for Skill in military Matters, far exceeded the rest. He endeavour'd to persuade 'em, To destroy every thing all round about them
that

that could be of any use to the Enemy, and then retire farther into the Country; to cause the Cavalry to trample down and waste all the Grass; to burn all the Villages and Towns; leaving nothing behind 'em but the bare, naked Land: That the Macedonians had hardly a Month's Provision, and they would afterwards be necessitated to live upon Plunder; now if that Means of subsisting were remov'd, they wou'd in a little time be forc'd to retire, so that all Asia wou'd be safe at a cheap rate. It was true, that there was something very dismal in his Advice; but on all occasions, where Dangers were impending, wise Men made it their Business to get off with as little Damage as they could. Thus the Physicians, if one part of the Body be seiz'd with a Distemper, which is likely to spread into other Parts, they lop it off, and so with the Loss of a Limb, secure the Health of the rest of the Body: That the Persians would not do this without a Precedent. For Darius had formerly destroy'd all these Countries, lest the Scythians in their Passage through them, should find Accommodation. If they came to a Battle, all would be at Stake, and if the Persians were beat, all that Country would fall into Alexander's Hands; whereas, if they got the better, they would be still but where they were. That indeed there was no small Danger from the Macedonian Phalanx, that the Persian Foot, tho' much more numerous, would not be able to resist it: Besides, the King's being present would not contribute a little to the gaining of the Victory, since the Soldiers fighting in the Presence of their General, would be spurr'd on with Hope, Shame, and Glory at the same Time; all which Advantages the Macedonians had, while Darius was absent from them. Besides, no Body doubted but that it was much better to make War in a foreign Country than in ones own; that they would be sure of that Advantage

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rage if they follow'd his Advice and invaded Macedon.

But this Speech did not please any of the other Generals : They said, *Perhaps this might seem proper to Memnon the Rhodian, who would find a Benefit by protracting the War, since he would thereby enjoy his Honours and Salaries so much the longer ; but it would be a foul Disgrace to the Persians to betray the People that were committed to their Trust and Care, and that they could not answer it to the King, whose Instructions to them laid down a very different Scheme for the Prosecution of the War : For Darius being inform'd of Alexander's Motion, had sent Letters to his Governors and Lieutenants, commanding them, First to put that rash Youth of Philip's in mind of his Years and Condition, by whipping him, and then to send him to him cloath'd in Purple and bound : to sink his Ships with their Crew, and carry all his Soldiers to the remotest Parts of the Red-Sea.*

So secure was he of Futurity, through his excessive Pride and the Ignorance of his Destiny, he divested himself of all Sense of human Weakness, pretending to be related to the Gods ; rather because he did not seem much inferiour to 'em in Power, than on the score of the ancient Fable that deriv'd the Pedigree and Name of the Kings of Persia from *Perseus* the Son of *Jupiter*. He had a little before writ to the *Athenians* in the same haughty Stile ; adding, *That since they had prefer'd the Friendship of the Macedonian to his, they must not for the future ask him for any more Gold : for though they should beg it of him, he would send them none.*

C H A P. V.

BUT *Alexander* being advanc'd as far as that Portion of Land that the King of *Persia* had bestow'd on *Memnon*, gave special Orders not to offer any Injury either to the Persons of his Tenants, or the Product of the Lands; by which Proceeding he prudently contriv'd to cause at least a Suspicion of the only Man he did not despise among all the Enemy's Generals, if he should not be able to bring him over to his Interest. Hereupon some wondering at the King's Moderation and Goodness, did not scruple to say, that he being the most cunning and bitter Enemy the *Macedonians* had, he ought to be put to Death as soon as they could get him in their Hands, and in the mean time they ought to do him all the Damage they could: To which the King reply'd, *That on the contrary, they ought to win him by good Offices, and to make him a Friend of an Enemy, and that then, he would exert the same Courage and Conduct on their Side.*

They were now come into the *Adraстеian* Plains, through which the River *Granicus* runs with a swift Current. There some of those that were sent before with *Hegelochus* to get Intelligence, bring him an Account, that the *Persians* waited for him, in order of Battel; on the other side of the River. He therefore halted for some time, to consult about the passing the River, and call all his Generals together. The major part were of Opinion, that it was altogether rash and impracticable to stem the Current of that deep River, in the Presence of so many thousand Horse and Foot, that were drawn up on the other side, and the Bank itself being very steep and of difficult

difficult Access. There were not wanting some, that suggested, that it was then the Month call'd *Desius*, (which answers to that of *June*) which was always very unfortunate to the *Macedonians*. Hereupon *Alexander*, tho' he was not uneasy on the account of the Danger, yet he did not despise the Superstition; being sensible of the powerful Effects even of vain and ill-grounded Religion, in weak Minds. He therefore ordain'd that they should repeat the Name of the preceding Month, and instead of *Desius*, have another *Artemisius*. And the more effectually to settle the Minds of them that were alarm'd, he caus'd *Aristander* (who was to sacrifice for a prosperous Passage) to be secretly admonish'd, to write with an artificial Ink, on that hand that was to receive the Intrails, (inverting the Characters, that the Liver being impos'd thereon might by its Heat attract the same, and express 'em properly) *That the Gods granted the Victory to Alexander*. This Miracle, being divulg'd, fill'd every Body with such mighty Hopes of the future, that they unanimously declar'd, in loud Acclamations, *That after such Tokens of the Favour of Heaven, there was no room left to doubt of any thing*. Thus being by a Wile brought into a Confidence of Success, they as it were run away with the Victory, because their Thoughts were convinc'd it was their own.

The King thinking it advisable to make use of this bold Disposition of their Minds, immediately led them over; notwithstanding *Parmenio* very much entreated him to stay till the next day, (for the best part of that Day was already spent) passing a Jest at the same time upon *Parmenio* for his Concern; telling him, *That the Hellespont would have Cause to blush, if after he had surmounted the Difficulties of passing that, they should boggle at*

the passing of a Brook. The King with thirteen Troops of Horse had hardly pass'd through the Violence of the Streams, but before he could either get firm Footing on the Shore, or make good the Ranks that had been disorder'd in the Passage, he was on all Sides press'd by the *Persian* Cavalry : For upon their disapproving *Memnon's* Advice, and their resolving to fight, (*Arsites*, who was Governor of *Phrygia*, having openly declar'd, he would not suffer the least Hut to be burnt within his Jurisdiction, and the rest having enter'd into his Sentiments) they had posted themselves along the River *Granicus*, to the number of one hundred thousand Foot, and twenty thousand Horse ; making use of the River as of a Fortification, and designing as it were, to bar that Door of *Asia* against *Alexander*. Being therefore inform'd of his Arrival, they so drew up their Cavalry (in which consisted the main Strength of their Army) that the Right Wing of the *Macedonians*, which was commanded by the King himself, (for the Left he had committed to *Parmenio's* Care) was opposed by *Memnon* and his Sons, together with *Arsanes* the *Persian* ; *Arsites* was also here with the Auxiliary *Paphlagonian* Horse. *Spithridates*, who was the King's Son-in-Law, commanded the Body of Reserve : he was accompanied by his Brother *Rhasaces*, who was Governor of *Lybia* and *Ionia*, and by the *Hyrceanian* Horse. In the Right of the Foot were two thousand *Medes* and as many *Bactrians* under the Command of *Rhecmithres*. The main Body was commanded by *Pharnaces* the Queen's Brother, *Arbapales*, and *Mithrobarzanes* Governor of *Cappadocia* ; these were join'd by *Niphates* and *Petanes*, as also by *Arsaces* and *Atizyes*, who had brought along with 'em Troops of several Nations ; these being superior in number, and having the Advantage

tage of the Ground press'd vehemently upon the Enemy, and the Fight was very sharp : the King was here particularly in Danger, who being remarkable by his Arms, by his Bravery and by the Orders he gave up and down, was chiefly attack'd by a great many.

In the Heat of the Action a Dart that was level'd at the King, stuck fast in the Folds of the lower part of his Armour, but did not wound him ; however he was in real Danger from *Rhaces* and *Spithridates*, two of the boldest of all the *Persian* Generals, who attack'd him at the same Time. For having broke his Lance upon *Spithridates* his Breast-plate ; as he was going to make use of his Sword, *Spithridates's* Brother riding up to him, struck so great a Blow with his Cymeter on his Helmet, that he cut it through, and lightly touch'd the King's Hair ; part of the Helmet falling down by the force of the Stroke, he was just going to give him another, on that part of his Head that lay bare, when *Clitus* observing the King's manifest Danger, flew to his Assistance and prevented him, by cutting off the Sword Arm of the *Barbarian* ; *Alexander* flew *Spithridates* at the same time.

Notwithstanding this the *Persians* made a gallant Resistance ; till at last, being dishearten'd by the Loss of their Generals (of whom the major Part were already kill'd) and the Approach of the *Macedonian Phalanx* that by this time had pass'd the River, they betook themselves to a precipitous Flight : After which the Foot made but a small Resistance ; for imagining that their Horse was more than sufficient to overcome the Enemy, their Mind was more intent on the Plunder than on Danger : till by the sudden and unexpected Event, they became a Sacrifice to the *Macedonians* ; for it was now no longer a Fight, but a per-

fect Butchery. The Mercenaries however, who were commanded by *Omares*, having possess'd themselves of an Eminence, made a vigorous Defence: For he had admitted of none that would surrender upon Terms. In this Conflict therefore there fell more *Macedonians* than in the Engagement of the Horse: Nay, the King himself (who fought amongst the forwardest) was here so near Danger, that the Horse he rid upon, was run thro' the Body with a Sword. This Accident so enflam'd his Anger, that having surrounded them, both with his Cavalry and *Phalanx*, he made an entire Slaughter of 'em, except two thousand that surrender'd at Discretion. There were in all kill'd of the Enemy, twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, and very near the like Number taken Prisoners. The Generals *Memnon*, *Arfaces*, *Rheomithres*, and *Antizyes*, sav'd themselves by flight; the others dy'd honourably of their Wounds. *Arsites* being got into *Phrygia*, laid violent Hands on himself, under a Conflict of Shame and Repentance, that he should not undeservedly be look'd upon as the Cause of this Defeat. *Alexander* lost in this Battle but few in Number, but they were the boldest and best of his Men. Of the Foot only thirty were kill'd, and seventy of the Horse. That all might therefore be sensible, that they were sure of a Reward from him in their Fortune, he enrich'd the Survivors with the Spoils of the *Persians*, and magnificently interr'd the Bodies of the Dead, with their Arms, and other Ornaments; granting at the same time to their Parents and Children, an Exemption of all Offices. The wounded were also particularly taken care of; for the King going about their Tents, visited them one by one, and express'd thereby his Concern even for the meanest Soldier, comforting them in their Misfortune, either by his Bounty, Commendations,

or Promises. This condescending Carriage so endear'd him to them; that they were ready on all Occasions, to encounter the greatest Dangers for his sake, with the utmost Constancy and Fidelity; none being unwilling to lay down their Lives for him, who neither suffer'd them to live in Want, nor to die without Marks of Honour. But he in a special manner distinguish'd the five and twenty of the Band of his Friends, who fighting in a disadvantageous Ground, were at the first Onset oppress'd by a Multitude of the *Persians*. For he commanded *Lyfippus* (who alone on the account of his wonderful Art, had the Privilege to cast his Statue in Brass) to represent every one of them in a Statue on Horseback, which were set up in *Dion* a Town of *Macedonia*, and were afterwards upon the Fall of that Empire, translated to *Rome* by *Metellus*. The chiefest Glory of this Victory, was due to the King himself, who drew up the Army with all the Skill imaginable, and having observ'd the Nature of the Ground, he led them thro' the River in an oblique Order, that they might not be attack'd by the *Persians*, immediately on their getting out of the Water; then, when they were put in Disorder, and somewhat terrify'd, he animated them by his Exhortations, and prevail'd with them at least to make one vigorous Attack more; this was not all, for he fought gallantly in his own Person, killing several with his Lance, others with his Sword, insomuch that those that he encounter'd with himself, were the first that fled. His Conduct likewise, though it had an Appearance of Temerity and Rashness, yet it was ground-ed upon Reason; for as his Army was to engage with a new Enemy, much superior to it in Number, he had a Mind to arm it also with Despair, that observing their Retreat to be cut off by the River, they might place all their Hopes of Safety in

the Victory. The *Theſſalians*, in whom the main Strength of his Cavalry conſiſted, ſignaliz'd themſelves on this Occaſion; nor were the reſt wanting in their Duty, eſpecially the Horſe, for it was the Horſe that chiefly did the Work, the Enemies Foot making but little Reſiſtance, and ſoon giving way. Moreover, he gave Orders that the moſt conſiderable of the *Persians*, ſhould be decently buried, as alſo the mercenary *Greeks* that ſerv'd the Enemy: But thoſe of 'em that were taken alive, he cauſ'd to be diſtributed among the Priſons in *Macedonia*, becauſe that contrary to the general Decree of all *Greece*, they had ſerv'd the *Barbarians* againſt their own Country. However, he diſmiſs'd the *Thebans*, in Conſideration that their Town being raz'd, and their Lands taken from 'em, they ſeem'd to be neceſſitated to what they did; beſides, the many Calamities they had ſuſtained, had in a manner glutted even Revenge, and made room for Pity. After this, he choſe three hundred Bucklers out of the Spoils of the Enemy, and ſent 'em to *Athens* to be hung up in the Temple of *Minerva*, with this pompous Inſcription, *Alexander the Son of Philip, and the reſt of the Greeks, excepting the Lacedæmonians, dedicate theſe Spoils taken from the Barbarians who inhabit Aſia.* He did this with this View, that by making the *Greeks* partake of the Glory and Praise of the Victory, they might the more readily comply for the future with the other Neceſſities of the War; at the ſame time he upbraided the *Lacedæmonians* contumacious Temper, who acting by a ſeparate Intereſt, had cut themſelves off from the main Body of the *Greeks*, and by that Deportment had depriv'd themſelves of their Share in ſo great an Honour. Neither was he unmindful of his Mother, for whom he had always a true filial Duty and Veneration; for he ſent her the Plate, the
Purple,

Purple, and the other valuable Spoils of that nature, reserving only a few for his own Use.

CHAP. VI.

AFTER this Battle, *Alexander* repair'd again to *Troy*, and return'd Thanks to the Goddess, who had upon his undertaking so dangerous a War, furnish'd him with Arms, and encourag'd him with prosperous Presages of the Event. For when he went thither first, immediately after his passing the *Hellespont* (as we before took notice) he saw an Equestrian Statue lying on the ground, just opposite to the Temple of *Minerva*, which represented *Ariobarfanes*, who had formerly been Governour of *Phrygia*. Upon the sight hereof, *Aristander* promis'd *Alexander* a glorious Victory in some Horse Engagement; more especially if the Action happen'd not far from *Phrygia*; and also that he should with his own Hand slay the General of the Enemy. Accordingly the Event made good the Prediction; for *Spithridates* being kill'd by the King's Sword, fulfill'd the Prophecy. He therefore not only made rich Presents to the Temple, but gave the Title of City to *Troy*, that before hardly exceeded in Compass a moderate Village; and that it might with Credit bear that Honour, he appointed proper Persons to restore and enlarge it, bestowing on it at the same time, all manner of Immunities. And because he observ'd that the Temple of the Goddess was too small, for the great Concourse of People that resorted thither out of a religious Motive, and that it was decay'd; he had resolv'd hereafter to build a magnificent one in the room thereof. But these, as well as a great many other noble Designs, were

prevented by his Fate, his Successors neglecting to put them in Execution. By this Victory, the King laid open to himself all that part of *Asia* that is on this side Mount *Taurus* and the *Euphrates*, the Inhabitants being astonish'd at the unexpected Overthrow: For having not only lost their Troops, but their Generals too in the Battle, they had now no Hopes left, but in the King's Clemency; in the obtaining of which, they endeavoured to prevent one another, by a speedy Surrender of themselves to his Mercy. *Arsites* had by laying violent Hands on himself, render'd *Phrygia* defenceless; *Alexander* therefore constituted *Callas* (who was General of the *Thessalians*) Governor of that Country. There came several Embassies likewise from the mountainous Parts, to surrender themselves and all they had to *Alexander*, who having taken them into his Protection, sent them home. He also forgave the *Zeliti*, because he knew they had been compell'd by the *Persians*, to serve against him. He impos'd the same Tribute on them all, that they had us'd to pay to *Darius*; observing the same Method with reference to all the other Provinces of *Asia* he afterwards reduc'd. *Alexander* was sensible, that all foreign Government is odious and subject to Envy, notwithstanding it be administered with more Lenity and Mildness than the Domestick; but if the former Burdens of the Subject, are increas'd by the Addition of new ones, it is then look'd upon as altogether intollerable; wherefore when a certain Person told him, that he might draw much greater Tributes and Revenues from so large an Empire; he answer'd, *That he hated even a Gardener, that pull'd those Plants up by the Roots, which he ought only to crop.*

Being inform'd, that *Dascylium* was possess'd by a Garrison of *Persians*, he sent *Parmenio* thither, whom the Inhabitants readily receiv'd; the *Persians*

sians having quitted it, as soon as they heard of the Approach of the *Macedonians*. In the mean time, he went himself to *Sardis*, which is the *Metropolis* of all the Places which the Kings of *Persia* had put under the Jurisdiction of the Governours of the maritime Country. He was within three-score and ten Furlongs of the Town, when *Mithrenes* (to whom *Darius* had committed the Care of the Catadel of *Sardis*) with the Chief of the *Sardian* Nobility, came and surrender'd to him the Citadel, with the Money that was deposited there. Having graciously receiv'd 'em, he advanc'd to the River *Hermus*, that is about twenty Furlong distant from the Town; having there pitch'd his Camp, he sent *Amyntas*, *Andromene's* Son, to take Possession of the Citadel. It is situated on the Top of a very high Hill, and every way of difficult Access; so that it might have been maintain'd against any Force whatever, even without the Help of its Wall, that had also a tripple Rampart. Having therefore applauded his Success upon the Surrender of so important a Place, which by reason of its Strength, might have held out a long Siege, and so retarded the Execution of his other great Designs, he resolved to build a Temple there, in Honour of *Jupiter Olympius*; and as he was diligently looking about, to find out what Place would be most proper for such a Structure, there arose on a sudden a furious Storm, which pour'd down a great Quantity of Rain on Part of the Citadel, where formerly the Palace of the *Lydian* Kings had stood. Believing therefore that the Gods thereby pointed out what Place they had destin'd for that purpose, he order'd the Temple to be built there. Then he made *Pausanias*, who was one of the Band of his Friends, Governour of the Citadel, assigning to him the Auxiliaries of the *Argives*. The other Troops of his Allies he allotted to *Cabus*

and *Alexander* the Son of *Æropeus*, giving them *Memnon's* Government. He appointed, at the same time, *Nicias* to collect the Tributes and Imposts. *Affander Philotas* his Son, had the Government of *Lydia*, with the same Bounds and Limitations *Spirithridates* had held it before. He granted to the *Lydians* the Privilege of living according to their own Laws : And because he understood the *Sardians* were very much devoted to *Diana*, whom they call *Coloëne*, he gave her Temple the Privilege of an Asylum. He did great Honours to *Mithrenes*, that by his Example others might be encourag'd to revolt ; and in process of Time, he bestowed on him the Government of *Armenia*. In this Citadel, he found an Account of what Money had been distributed by *Darius's* Generals, to bring about a War upon *Macedon*, from the *Greeks* : It appear'd also, that *Demosthenes* had receiv'd vast Sums for this purpose, some of whose Letters were there to be seen. But by reason he had made a Peace, and concluded all Matters with the *Athenians*, he did not think it proper to complain publicly of these Proceedings ; however he thought it necessary, to be the more careful to keep the *Athenians* in their Duty, and to prevent their being prevail'd upon by this Man's wonderful Eloquence, since their Defection would go near to draw along with it that of all *Greece*. He had no Body in greater Esteem than *Phocion*, whose Integrity and Innocency, together with his constant Adherence to Virtue, render'd Poverty it self honourable. He valu'd him at first for the use he made of him, but being afterwards on several Occasions, convinc'd of his Magnanimity, he honoured him out of Admiration of his Virtue ; insomuch that, when (after *Darius's* Overthrow) he was grown so haughty, as to think it beneath him to honour any one he writ to with the common Form of

of Salutation, he reserv'd that mighty Favour for *Antipater* and *Phocion* only. It is certain the King sent him a hundred Talents at a time, and gave him the Choice of four no inconsiderable Towns in *Asia*; viz. *Cius*, *Elæa*, *Mylassa*, and *Gergetho*; some put *Parata* instead of the last; but he refused all those Offers; yet lest he should seem to slight the Friendship of so great a King, he desir'd that *Echeratides* the Sophist, *Athenodorus* the *Imbrian*, with *Demaratus*, and *Spartan Rhodians*, who were Prisoners in the Castle of *Sardis*, might be set at Liberty. But these Transactions run into a latter Date.

After this, he march'd to *Ephesus*, which the *Garison* had quitted (being inform'd of the Defeat of the *Persians*) going off in two *Ephesian Gallies*; among the rest, was *Amyntas Antiochus's* Son, who had fled from *Macedonia*, without any other Provocation, than that he was afraid of the King, whom he mortally hated, making a Judgment of his Disposition from his own. *Alexander* enter'd into *Ephesus* the fourth Day after he left *Sardis*: Here he recall'd those that were banish'd in the time of the *Oligarchy*, and restor'd the Government to the People. The People having now obtain'd their long-wish'd-for *Liberty*, desir'd that those who had call'd in *Memnon*, and those who had plunder'd the Temple of *Diana*, and had cast down *Philip's* Statue that stood there, or had dug up *Herophythus's* Monument that was plac'd in the *Forum*, as to the Deliverer of the City, might all suffer the Punishment they deserved. Of these therefore *Pelagon* with his Brother *Syrphaces*, and his Cousin were dragg'd out of the *Temple*, into which they had fled for Protection, and ston'd to Death. All things tended to Blood and Confusion, when *Alexander* putting a Stop to the outrageous License of the Rabble, forbad making any farther

Enquiry into those Matters, or molesting any one on that account. Thus the chiefest and best Citizens were sav'd, who would otherwise on the score of their Dignity or Riches, under the Pretext of real or fictitious Crimes, have been expos'd to the Hatred and Avarice of the enrag'd Multitude. While these Things were doing, the *Magnesiens* and *Trallians* sent Ambassadors to him to notify their Submission to his Will and Pleasure; he therefore sent *Parmenio* thither with five thousand Foot and two hundred Horse; he sent *Alcinalus* with the same Number, to the *Æolick* and *Ionian* Cities, within the *Persian* Jurisdiction; giving Orders to both to abolish the *Oligarchy's*, and to establish every where a popular State; for he had found by Experience, that the People were well inclin'd to him, which had been the Cause of the *Barbarians* restraining 'em by the Government of Tyrants.

While *Alexander* stay'd at *Ephesus*, he frequently went to *Appelles's* Shop to divert himself after the Fatigues of Business, who was the only Person he would allow to draw his Picture, and was so high in his Favour, that he bestow'd on him the best belov'd of his Concubines, because he found *Appelles* was deeply in love with her. Her Name was *Pancasta*, she was born at *Larissa*, a considerable Town in *Thessaly*: And the King lov'd her tenderly as well for her exquisite Beauty, as because she was the first he took a Fancy for in his youthful Days. This Action was very suitable to *Alexander's* Greatness of Soul. But I do not give Credit to the Report, that *Apelles* by a shrewd Repartee, silenc'd *Alexander*, who let his Tongue run very fast, but unskilfully, concerning many Things in his Art; for this is not agreeable to the Veneration that is due to the Majesty of so mighty a King, nor to the Modesty of the Painter, who neither wanted Parts, or the Address of a Man of Letters.

Letters. Besides, as *Alexander* from his tender Years, had been conversant with the liberal Sciences, it is to be suppos'd he could make a proper Judgment, even in those Arts he was not thoroughly vers'd in. What others say, seems more probable, that it was one of the *Ephesian Diana's* Priests, generally call'd *Megabizi*, that was so reprov'd by *Appelles*, who told him, *That while he held his Tongue, his Ornaments of Gold and Purple render'd him venerable to the Ignorant; but when he pretended to speak concerning things he knew nothing of, he became ridiculous even to the Boys that grind the Colours.* It was in this City that *Herostratus* burnt the so much celebrated Temple, as we before observ'd.

The *Ephesians* were now very intent on the rebuilding that curious Structure, sparing no Expence in the Work. *Alexander* therefore, to assist their Zeal, ordain'd, that the Subsidies which they us'd to pay before to the *Persians*, should; for the future, be paid to *Diana*; and confirm'd to it the Privilege of an *Asylum*, which he understood had formerly been preserv'd to it, both by *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, and enlarg'd its Bounds, allowing them to reach every way to the extent of a Furlong. Some time after, when he had settled all Things in *Asia*, he writ to the *Ephesians*, *That he would reimburse all the Charges they had been at in the restoring that Edifice; and moreover, would supply whatever should hereafter be wanting, provided his Name were inscrib'd on the new building:* But the *Ephesians* excus'd themselves from granting that; and because it was of dangerous Consequence to refuse *Alexander* any thing he requir'd, their Ambassador had recourse to Flattery, which he knew had a mighty Influence over him, and told him, *That it was an Affront to his high Dignity, to Consecrate any thing to the Gods, since he was himself a God, that being an Honour paid by*

Men to the Deity; as to a superior Nature: So great was the Contention for Glory betwixt this mighty *Monarch* and one single *City*. However, the *Ephesians* gain'd their Point, chusing rather to go without so vast a Sum, than to yield to the *King* the *Inscription* of the new *Temple*. Now how great their Expences were in this Work, may be guess'd from the price of one single *Picture* they hung up in it, which cost 'em twenty Talents of Gold: It represented *Alexander* with a Thunder-bolt in his Hand; *Apelles* had drawn this Piece after so inimitable a Manner, that he made use of but four Colours, which heighten'd the Admiration of all who had any Taste or Judgment in that Art.

C H A P. VII.

ABOUT this Time the *Smyrneans* had the Seat where they had formerly flourish'd restor'd to 'em, after they had for the space of four hundred Years liv'd scatter'd up and down in Villages, upon the *Zydians* having destroy'd the ancient *Smyrna*. The *King* rebuilt it about twenty Furlongs distant from the Place where the Town had stood, being admonish'd in a Dream to do so. *Alexander* us'd, (when his Affairs of Moment would permit) to divert himself in Hunting; one time particularly having fatigu'd himself with that Exercise, he fell asleep on a Mountain call'd *Pagus*; while he was taking his Rest, he fancied he heard the *Nemesis* (who had a Temple hard by) command him to build a City in that very Place, and People it with the *Smyrneans*. This Dream was afterwards confirm'd by the Oracle of *Apollo Clarius*, which promis'd the *Smyrneans*, that their Removal

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val would redound to their Advantage; hereupon the Foundations of the new Town are laid by the King's Orders, but *Antigonus* had the Glory of finishing it, *Alexander* having some time after committed to him the Government of *Lydia*, *Phrygia*, and the neighbouring Countries.

The *Clazomenij* inhabit that part of the Gulph of *Smyrna* that is narrowest, and joins to the Continent the Lands that run into the Sea, for the space of sixty Furlongs, making a kind of *Peninsula*. *Taos* stands on that side of the *Isthmus* which is opposite to the *Clazomenij*, and *Erythra* is situate in the utmost Point of the *Peninsula*, which was even then famous for its Prophetesses: Hard by this Town is the high Mountain *Mimas*, over against the Isle of *Chio*, and looks into the Sea; then falling with a gentle Declivity, not far from the Straits of the *Clazomenij*, it terminates in Plains. *Alexander* having view'd the Nature of the Place, resolv'd to cut through that narrow Neck of Land, and divide it from the Continent, that so he might encompass *Erythra* and *Mimas* with the Sea, and unite the upper and lower Gulph. It is observ'd, that this was the only Thing in which he was disappointed, Fortune labouring, as it were, to accomplish all his other Undertakings. This Disappointment caus'd a sort of religious Reflection, as if it were not lawful for Mortals to change the Face of Nature, since others who had made the same Attempt had likewise been frustrated before; however, he joyn'd *Clazomena* to the Continent by a Bank of two Furlongs, the *Clazomenij* having heretofore made an Island of it, out of fear of the *Persians*; but these Works were committed to the Care of the Governors. As for himself, having been very Magnificent in his Sacrifices at *Ephesus*, he made a general Exercise of all the Troops that were with him, in honour of the Gods,

deſs, and march'd the next Day to *Miletum*, taking with him all the Foot, the *Thracian* Horſe, and four Troops of thoſe he call'd his Friends, the Royal being one of 'em. For *Hegiſtratus*, who commanded the Garifon, had given him Hopes in a Letter, that he was ready to ſurrender to him; but underſtanding afterwards that the *Persian* Fleet was at hand, he alter'd his Mind, and was for preſerving the Place to *Darius*, for he wanted neither Arms nor Proviſions, nor any other Neceſſaries requiſite to endure a long Siege; beſides, his Garifon was numerous, *Memnon* having re-inforc'd it (when he fled thither after the Battle) with a conſiderable Body of Troops he had with him. *Alexander* therefore coming ſuddenly upon 'em with his incens'd Army, he, at his very firſt Arrival, poſſeſs'd himſelf of the outward Town, as they call it; for the Townſmen and Soldiers (that the ſtrength of the Place might not be too much ſcatter'd) had retir'd into the inward Town, reſolving there to wait for the Succour of their Friends; who, as they were inform'd, were not far off. But theſe Hopes were fruſtrated by the ſeaſonable Arrival of the *Macedonian* Fleet, under the Command of *Nicanor*, who had taken Poſſeſſion of the *Iſland Lade*, that lies above *Miletum*; and, upon Information that the Enemy's Fleet lay at Anchor under the Mountain *Mycale*, ſailing into the *Miſeſian* Harbour, he cut off all hopes of Succour from the *Persians* to the beſieged. Neither did the *Barbarians* offer to oppoſe him, notwithstanding they were ſo much ſuperior to him in Number of Ships, for they had near four hundred Sail, whereas *Nicanor* had not above one hundred and ſixty.

While theſe Things were doing, *Glaucippus*, the moſt conſiderable Man of the Town, was ſent to *Alexander*, to deſire that the Town and Harbour might

might be in Common to the *Persians* and *Macedonians* ; but he return'd with this melancholy Answer, *That he did not come into Asia to receive what others would bestow on him, but that every Body should be contented with what he spar'd them ; that they ought to know it was their Duty to resign all their Fortunes to their Superior, or be ready the next Morning to decide the Matter by the Sword.* But the Townsmen repell'd the first Shock of the Enemy with a great deal of Gallantry, killing, amongst the rest, the two Sons of *Hellenica*, who was *Alexander's* Nurse, and Sister to *Clitus*, who had with so much Bravery sav'd the King's Life. Hereupon the *Macedonians* being enrag'd with Grief and Anger, and having planted their Machines, they soon made a considerable Breach in the Wall, and were just ready to storm the Town, when the Besieged perceiving the Enemies Gallies in the Port, were seiz'd with a fresh Terror, and some of them betook themselves to the opposite little Island for Safety upon their Bucklers, others got into little Boats, and endeavour'd to imitate 'em, but were taken by the Enemies Ships at the very Mouth of the Harbour. *Alexander* having thus made himself Master of the Town, dispatch'd Ships after those who had gain'd the Island, providing them with Ladders, whereby the Soldiers might overcome the difficult ascent of the Coast, as if they were scaling the Walls of a City. But observing the *Greeks* that were in the Enemy's pay, (who did not in all exceed three hundred Men) ready to undergo the last Extremities, he took Compassion of 'em on account of their Bravery ; and seeing 'em so constant to those that hir'd 'em, as to venture perishing for their Fidelity, he pardon'd 'em, and took 'em into his Service.

As for those *Barbarians* he found in the Town, he made 'em all Slaves ; granting at the same time to the surviving *Milesians*, their *Liberty*, in Consideration of the ancient *Glory* of their *City* : For *Miletus* was once so Rich and Powerful as to have no less than seventy *Colonies* in the neighbouring Seas ; moreover, it was celebrated on the Score of several of its *Gallant Citizens*, who had in the sacred *Combats* often won the *Prize*, and thereby advanc'd the *Glory* of their Country. For these kind of Victories were (according to the Practice even of the *Greeks*) esteem'd the greatest Ornaments of Vertue. This made *Alexander*, when he beheld the great Number of Statues that were erected on this Account, ridicule the Custom with a biting Reproach ; for he ask'd 'em, *where were the strong Arms of those Men, when they receiv'd the Persian Yoke ?* For, as he was a Gallant Man, and judg'd of all Things that were subservient to War, he thought it a shameful thing to waste that Strength that ought to be employ'd only in Battles of Moment, in the fruitless Diversion of the Rabble, out of a vain and unprofitable Ostentation. In the mean time the Soldiers who had enter'd the Town by mere force, pillag'd every Thing before 'em, and were come to the Temple of *Ceres* ; and as some of 'em broke into it, with a design to plunder it, a sudden Fire that came from the inner Parts, struck the sacrilegious Wretches blind. Here *Alexander* found some Monuments of his Progenitors, and particularly a Fountain, whose Waters, tasted at the Spring-head, were salt, and yet were fresh when they ran into Streams. The *Milesians* call it *Achilles's Fountain*, and it is rumour'd, that that *Hero* bath'd himself near it, after he had vanquish'd *Strambelus*, *Telamon's* Son, who was bringing Succour to the *Lesbians*. The *Milesians* had with 'em also the Oracle of *Apollo Didymeus*,

Didymeus, much celebrated for its Riches and Fame. *Seleucus* (who was very powerful after *Alexander*) then consulted it, about his Return to *Macedon*, and received for Answer, *That bidding adieu to Europe, he should embrace Asia.*

There was another Thing that awaken'd the *King's* Attention, whose curious *Genius* was greedy of Knowledge, and was wonderfully delighted with Novelty; he was told, that a Youth of *Jafsus*, that is not far distant from *Miletum*, was belov'd by a *Dolphin*, and that the Fish knew his Voice so well, that whenever he call'd upon it, and would be carry'd on its Back, it readily receiv'd him; whereupon the *King* inferring, that he was in *Nep-tune's* favour, made him his *High Priest*.

C H A P. VIII.

A *lexander* after this manner made himself Master of *Miletum*, and as the numerous Fleet of *Barbarians* kept still hovering thereabouts, and out of Confidence in their Multitude, and Superiority of Skill in maritime Affairs, provok'd the Enemy to a Battle, frequently presenting it self before the Port where the *King's* Ships rid; he sent *Philotas* with the Horse, and three Regiments of Foot to Mount *Mycale*, near which the *Persian* Fleet lay at Anchor; giving him Orders to repel the Enemy, if they offer'd to land, either to take in fresh Water or Wood, or any other Necessaries. This reduc'd the *Barbarians* to the greatest Straits, and kept them, as it were, confin'd in their Port, without being suffer'd to land, or accommodate themselves with those Necessaries they wanted. Hereupon they call'd a Council, and steer'd towards *Samos*, where having taken in Provision, they came

116 Freinshemius's *Supplement*

came came back again to *Miletum*, and presented themselves before the Harbour in order of Battle. In the mean time five of the *Persian* Ships perceiving several of the Enemy's Fleet in a certain Port between the little *Island* we before mention'd, and the Road where the *Macedonian* Fleet lay; made all the sail they could thither, imagining they should find 'em in a manner unmann'd, and consequently an easie Prize; for they conjectur'd, that the major part of their Men were taken up in many other different Employments. But the King immediately putting those that were present on board ten Gallies, commanded 'em to go and meet the Enemy. Who being terrify'd both by the Number of Ships, and the unexpectedness of the Thing (finding themselves attack'd by those they thought to have surpriz'd) made off as fast as they cou'd; however, one of their Ships that was mann'd with *Fassians* was taken, the rest being swift Sailors regain'd their Fleet: Thus the *Barbarians* were forc'd to leave *Miletum* without effecting any of the Things they intended. *Alexander* considering now that his Fleet was inferior to that of the Enemy, and wou'd be of no great Use to him for the future, and besides that, it was a great Charge to him; resolv'd to dismiss it, retaining only a few Ships with him to transport the Machines and Engines necessary in Sieges; but *Parmenio* was of a different Opinion, and advis'd the King to hazard a Sea Engagement, since if the *Macedonians* were victorious, many Advantages would arise therefrom; and if they were beaten, they would lose nothing, since the *Persians* were even now Masters at Sea, and it would be no very difficult Task for those that were strongest at Land to defend their Coasts. That his Advice might the sooner prevail, he offer'd to execute it himself, and to share the Danger with the rest of that Fleet

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the King should assign him for this Purpose. Moreover, his Opinion was back'd by lucky Presages, for some Days before an Eagle was seen to rest on the Shore, behind the King's Fleet. However Alexander reply'd, That his Opinion was ill ground- ed, when he flatter'd himself that so small a Fleet was able to encounter with so great a Multitude of E- nemies, and that it was not advisable to oppose skil- ful Rowers and expert Sailors, to raw and unexpe- rienc'd Men in both Capacities; that tho' he did not distrust the Bravery of his Subjects, yet in Sea- Fights he was sensible, that was but of little Mo- ment towards the obtaining the Victory. That those Actions were liable to many Dangers from the Waves and the Winds, both which were, by the Experience of the Pilots and Rowers, either declin'd or turn'd to an Advantage; That a great deal de- pended even on the very building of the Ships; That the Macedonians would in vain use their bravest Endeavours, since it would be in the Power of the Barbarians, either to baffle 'em, or, if an Accident happen'd, totally to destroy 'em; which was a thing of the last Consequence as Affairs stood, since all Asia would be animated and encourag'd, if in the beginning of the War he should receive so great an Overthrow; That the generality of Men were na- turally of such Tempers as to expect the Event of Things to be answerable to the preconceiv'd Hopes or Fears from the first Successes; and that we may not doubt of the Truth hereof, with respect to Asia, who will ensure me that the Greeks themselves will remain in their Duty, if they find our Felicity and Success once forsake us, which, to speak the Truth, is all they admire and venerate in us? I must confess I look upon it to relate to my Fortune, that an Eagle was seen behind my Fleet, and I take it as an Omen of Prosperity. But then the Augury seems plainly to indicate, that we shall o- vercome

vercome the Enemy's Fleet by Land ; for the Eagle that presages the Victory, did not rest upon our Ships, but on the Shore, and so does not more expressly point at the Event than at the Place of Action. This is certain, that if, as we have begun, we continue to possess our selves of the Maritime Towns, the Persian Fleet will waste of it self, for it will neither have Recruits, Provisions, nor Harbours ; and if these are remov'd, the greater their Strength is at Sea, the sooner they'll be undone. By this Means we shall make good the Prophecy that was engrav'd on the Copper-plate that was (as we are inform'd) cast up by a Fountain in Licia, and signify'd that the Persian Empire was hastening to its Period. Having therefore discharg'd his Fleet, he left Pontus and its adjacent Countries to his Governors to subdue, and pursuing his intended Designs he advanc'd towards Caria, for he was told, a great Number of the Enemy had resorted thither. Indeed Halicarnassus, which was strong by its Situation, and was besides provided with two Citadels, gave some Hopes that the Macedonian, who like a Torrent bore down all before him, might be stopt there, as by a strong Bank. There was great Hopes also in Memnon, who was, with the utmost Diligence, making all the necessary Preparations for maintaining a long Siege, for he had lately been made Admiral by Darius, and Governor of all the Maritim Coasts ; and as he was a Man of great Subtilty, and an observer of the Turns, and favourable Occasions of Times, so he was very sensible that he exceeded all the Persian Generals in the War ; notwithstanding which, he was not rewarded according to his Merit, for this Reason only, that as he was a Greek by Extraction, and had formerly been well receiv'd in the Macedonian Court, there was some room to suspect him of Treachery ; he therefore sent his Wife and

and *Children* to *Darius*, as if he were solicitous for their Safety, but in Truth by those Pledges to convince the *King* of his Fidelity. However, *Alexander* having enter'd *Caria*, had, in a little time, made himself Master of all the Places between *Miletum* and *Halicarnassus*, most of 'em being inhabited by *Greek Colonies*, to whom it was his Custom to restore their *Liberty*, and the *Privilege* of living after their own *Laws*, assuring them *he came into Asia to deliver them from Oppression*. Not long after he insinuated himself into the Favour of the *Barbarians*, by his courteous Behaviour to *Ada*, a Woman of Royal Blood; who being inform'd of his March into those Parts, repair'd to him and implor'd his *Protection*, desiring him to re-establish her in her Kingdom; for *Hecatomnus*, King of *Caria*, had three Sons and two Daughters, of whom *Mausolus* marry'd *Artemisia*; and *Ada*, the youngest Daughter, had marry'd his Brother *Hidricus*. *Mausolus* being dead, was succeeded by his Sister and Wife, according to the Custom of the Country, which allows those that are born of the same Parents to be join'd both in Marriage and Dominion; but *Artemisia* dying with Grief for her deceas'd Husband, *Hidricus* enjoy'd the Crown, and dying without Issue, left the same to *Ada*; but *Pexodarus*, who was the only one left of *Hecatomnus's* Sons, drove her out of the Kingdom; and altho' he also was dead, she remain'd still depriv'd of her Right, because *Pexodarus* had marry'd his Daughter to *Orontobates*, a Nobleman of *Persia*, that he might by his Wealth and Interest be protected in his new Usurpation; so that his Father-in-Law being dead, he held the Kingdom in Right of his Wife. *Ada* having therefore made her Condition known to *Alexander*, and surrendering to him at the same time the strong Castle of *A-*

linda, obtain'd from him the Approbation of her calling him Son, and a promise of his speedy Assistance to restore her to her Dignity. In the mean time the Rumour of this Queen's courteous Reception being spread all over that Country, procur'd *Alexander* the Affection of a great many Towns; for most of 'em were in the Hands of *Ada's* Relations or Friends, insomuch that they sent Ambassadors to him with Presents of Crowns of Gold, and solemn Assurances, *That they put themselves under his Protection and Power, and that they would readily obey his Command.*

While these Things were doing, *Ada* was wholly taken up with providing the most exquisite Meats for Taste, and dress'd after the most curious Manner, and Sweetmeats of all Kinds, and sent 'em with the Cooks and Confectioners to the *King*, as a Present, thinking to shew her Gratitude for the Favours she had receiv'd from him, if she entertain'd him after his Fatigues and Toils, with the Delicacies of the *Asian* Luxury: But being too wise not to know, that *Intemperance* is of pernicious Consequence to the Man that is employ'd in serious and weighty Matters, he very civilly return'd her Thanks, but told her at the same time, *She had been needlessly solicitous for him, who had himself better Cooks, with which his Tutor Leonidas had formerly provided him, viz. a walk early in the Morning to get him a Stomach to his Dinner, and a frugal Dinner to prepare him for Supper.*

C H A P. IX.

BY this time almost all *Caria* had submitted to *Alexander*, except *Halicarnassus*, the Capital City thereof, in which there was a strong Garrison; wherefore concluding the Siege would be tedious, he order'd *Provisions*, and all the necessary *Machines* for battering the Place to be brought from on board his Fleet, and went and encamp'd with the Foot at the distance of five Furlongs from the Town. But while his Men were battering the Walls of the Place, near the Gate that leads to *Mylassa*, the Besieged made an unexpected Sally; however, the *Macedonians* behav'd themselves with a great deal of Bravery, drove 'em back to the Town with little Loss. Some few Days after, *Alexander* having had Hopes given him that the Town *Myndus* would, upon his appearing before it, be deliver'd up to him, he took along with him part of the Army, and march'd thither in the dead time of the Night. But no Body offering to stir, he commanded the heavy arm'd Soldiers to undermine the Wall, for he had brought neither Ladders nor Machines along with him, by reason he did not go thither with an intention to make a formal Siege. These Men flung down one of the Towers, and yet for all that made no Breach they could enter at, for the Tower fell after such a manner that the Ruins defended the same Ground that the Tower did while standing, and the Inhabitants made a vigorous Resistance, and were reinforc'd by Succours from *Halicarnassus*, which *Memnon* (hearing of the Danger they were in) had sent them. Thus the *Macedonian's* Attempt was frustrated. *Alexander* being now return'd to the Siege of *Halicarnassus*,

vassus, resolv'd first of all to fill up a Ditch about thirty Cubits broad, and fifteen in depth, that the Enemy had made for the better security of the Place ; he therefore prepar'd three *Tortoises*, under the Protection of which the Soldiers might with *safety* bring the Earth, and what other Materials were necessary for that Purpose, and having fill'd the Ditch, he order'd *the Towers and other Machines us'd in the battering of Walls, to be properly apply'd*. By these means having made a sufficient Breach in the Wall, he endeavour'd to force his Way into the Town through it ; but the *Enemy* being strong in Number, was constantly succeeded by fresh Men in the room of those that were tir'd, and being besides encourag'd by the Presence of their Generals, omitted nothing that was necessary for a vigorous Defence. The Day being wasted in a drawn Fight, and *Memnon* imagining the Enemy might be tir'd with the fatigue of the Action, and so would be more negligent in keeping their Guards, made a strong Sally out of the Town, and set Fire to their Works ; hereupon the *Macedonians* advancing to oppose them, while these labour'd to extinguish the Flames, and the others to encrease 'em. The *Macedonians*, tho' much superior to their Enemy in Strength and Courage, and their familiarity with Danger, yet were mightily press'd by the Number and Contrivance of the *Persians* ; and as the Fight was not far from the Walls, they were very much gall'd from thence by their Engines and Machines, so that the *Macedonians* receiv'd many Wounds, which they had no opportunity of Revenging. The Shouts were great on both Sides, each encouraging their own Men, and threatening their Enemy ; besides, the Groans of the wounded and dying, together with the darkness of the Night, fill'd every thing with Horror and Confusion,

sion, which was still encreas'd by the Clamour of the rest of the Multitude, who while their Companions were fighting, were intent on the repairing the Damage the Walls had sustain'd from the Shock of the Engines and Machines : At last the *Macedonians* pushing bravely on, drove the Enemy within the Walls, having kill'd about one hundred and seventy of 'em, and among the rest *Neoptolemus*, who with his Brother *Amyntas* had fled to the *Persians*. Of the *Macedonians* there did not fall in that Action above sixteen, but there were near three hundred wounded, which may be ascrib'd to the Night, in the darkness of which they could not decline the Blows, nor avoid the random Darts. A few Days after, an Accident, inconsiderable in it self, prov'd the occasion of a notable Contention which begun between two of *Perdicas* his Veterans ; they were Comrades, and had been drinking together, and among the rest of their Discourse, they happen'd to enlarge on the Gallant Actions they had each perform'd, till at last they quarrell'd about the Preference ; upon which one of 'em broke out in this Expression, *Why do we sully so glorious a Contention with empty and uselesß Words ? The Matter is not who has the best Tongue, but the strongest Arm, and here is a fine Opportunity to decide the same : If you are the Man you pretend to be, follow me.* They were both heated with Wine and Emulation, and therefore of their own accord took their Arms, and advanc'd to that part of the Wall that stands near that side of the Citadel that faces *Mylasse*.

Their rash Enterprize being observ'd by those of the Town, caus'd some of the Enemy to go out against 'em ; they undauntedly stood their Ground, and came to an Engagement, and receiv'd those who came nearest 'em Sword in Hand,

flinging their Darts after those who retreated. But their bold Attempt had not remain'd long unpunish'd from so many, who had besides their Number the Advantage of a rising Ground ; if a few of their fellow Soldiers at first observing the Danger they were in, had not come to their Assistance, and afterwards, as occasion requir'd, more and more, the Besieged doing the same to succour their Men. This made the Success various, according as each Party was superior either in Strength or Number, till *Alexander* himself coming up with those that were about him, struck a Terror into the Enemy, and drove 'em within their Fortifications, and was very near entring the Town at the same time with 'em: For the Besieged being wholly intent on what pass'd before the Town, the defence of the Walls was carelessly minded ; and two Towers were already beat down with the adjoining part of the Wall, by the repated Violence of the battering Rams, and the third was so shaken that it could not stand long against the Mines. But by reason of the suddenness of the Action, and that the whole Army was not drawn out, this Opportunity, however favourable, was lost. *Alexander* hereupon desir'd a Suspension of Arms, and leave to bury his dead, notwithstanding that according to the *Greek* Notion, it was yielding the Victory to the Enemy, yet he chose rather to do it than leave the Bodies of his Men unburied. But *Ephialtes* and *Thrasibulus*, *Athenians* (who were then in the *Persian* Service, and who had a greater regard to their Averſion to the *Macedonians* than to *Humanity*) openly declar'd, *That such an Indulgence ought not to be granted to such inveterate Enemies* ; however, this did not hinder *Memnon* from representing, *That it was altogether unbecoming the Practice of the Greeks, to refuse an Enemy the privilege*

lege of burying their Slain; that Arms and Force were to be us'd against Enemies that made Head against us, and that it was an unworthy thing to insult those whose Fate had put it out of their Power to do us either Good or Harm. It is most certain, that Memnon, besides his other Virtues, was remarkable for his Moderation; for he did not think it at all honourable, out of a virulent Prejudice, to slander an Enemy, and load him with Invectives; on the contrary, he strove to overcome him by Bravery and Conduct. This made him, when he heard one of the Mercenaries speak with Disrespect and Petulancy of Alexander, strike him with his Pike, and tell him, *He did not hire him to rail at Alexander, but to fight against him.*

CHAP. X.

IN the mean time the Besieged took all the Care they could for their Security, and rais'd a Brick Wall within that which was beat down; and instead of carrying it on in a strait Line, they made it bend inwardly after the Resemblance of the new Moon. This Task was soon finish'd by the help of a great many Hands. The next Day Alexander began to batter this Wall, that he might with less difficulty beat it down while the Work was yet fresh. The Besieged took the Opportunity of the Macedonians being thus employ'd, to make a vigorous Sally from the Town, and set Fire to some of the Hurdles with which the Works were cover'd, and to part one of the Timber Towers: But Philotas and Hellanicus, who had that Day the Guard of the Machines, hinder'd the Fire from spreading, and Alexander appearing seasonably, struck such a Terror into the Minds

of the Enemy, that flinging away their Torches, and some their Arms, they fled back to the Town with great Precipitation. The Advantage they had here from the Situation of the Place, enabled them to repel the Force of the Enemy with ease, and the Wall (as we before took Notice) was built so that what part soever the *Macedonians* attack'd, they were not only oppos'd in Front, but were also sure to be flank'd from each side thereof.

While these Things were doing, the *Persian* Generals finding themselves straiten'd every Day more and more, and being well assur'd that the *Macedonian* would not go off till he had made himself Master of the Town, held a Council on what was necessary to be done in the present Juncture of Affairs; and *Ephialtes*, a Person equally remarkable for the Strength of his Body, and the Courage of his Mind, made a Speech on the many Inconveniencies of a tiresome Siege; and argu'd against *expecting till they were altogether weaken'd, and unable to resist, and of course fall a Prey, with the Town, to the Enemy*; and advise 'em, *that while they had yet some Strength, to engage the Enemy chearfully, with the choicest of the hir'd Troops*: That this his Counsel, by how much it was more bold in Appearance, was by so much the more easie to Execute; for the Enemy expecting nothing less than this, might be easily surpriz'd, being altogether unprepar'd against such an Accident. Nor did Memnon (who otherwise us'd to prefer the cautious and wary Counsel, to the specious and plausible in Appearance) oppose him; for he consider'd, that altho' no great Alterations should happen, yet as there was no hopes of any Succour at Hand, the Issue of the Siege would be fatal, he therefore did not think it improper, in so great an Extremity, to try what so brave

brave a Man could do, since he seem'd, as it were, inspir'd to execute the boldest Undertakings.

Ephialtes therefore having made choice of two thousand, out of the whole Body of hir'd Troops, commanded *them to get a thousand Torches, and by break of Day to be ready with their Arms to receive his Orders.* *Alexander*, as soon as Day appear'd, had advanc'd the Machines again to the Brick Wall, and the *Macedonians* were intent on their Business ; but *Ephialtes* sallying out of the Town on a sudden, order'd one half of his Men with their Torches to set Fire to their Works, and he follow'd in Person with the other half to oppose those who should offer to hinder them in the Execution of their Design : But *Alexander* being inform'd of what was doing, quickly drew up his Army, and having strengthen'd the Succours with chosen Men, he dispatch'd some to put out the Fire, while he himself attack'd those that were with *Ephialtes* ; and *Ephialtes*, on his part, as he was of a prodigious Strength, kill'd all those that engag'd him Hand to Hand, animating his Men by his Voice and Looks, but most by his Example. The Besiegers were not a little annoy'd also from the Walls, for the Besieged had erected a Tower thereon of a hundred Cubits in height, from which (having conveniently planted their Engines) they gall'd the Enemy with Javelins and Stones. While these things were doing, *Memnon* likewise with another Body of Troops, made another Sally, from a different part of the Town, whence it was least expected ; this caus'd so great a Confusion in the Camp, that the King himself was at a stand what Measures to take. However, by his Magnanimity and seasonable Orders, he obviated all the Danger, and Fortune came to his Assistance in a very proper time, for they who had set Fire to the Machines,

128 Freinshemius's *Supplement*

were repuls'd with great Loss, by the *Macedonians* that kept Guard there, and the Reinforcement he had sent 'em ; and *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Philip*, who was Captain of the King's Guards, having with him the Regiments of *Addaus* and *Timander*, besides his own, receiv'd *Memnon* so warmly, that the *Macedonians* on that side, had much the better of it, notwithstanding they lost in the Action *Ptolemy*, *Addaus* and *Clearchus*, Captain of the Archers, and about forty private Men. The Enemy retir'd with so much Precipitation and Disorder, that in the hurry they broke down the narrow Bridge they had laid over the Ditch, and push'd those headlong down that were upon it, of whom some were trod to Death by their own Men, and others perish'd by the *Macedonians* Darts from the higher Ground : A great many that had escap'd this *Calamity* were destroy'd at the very Gate of the Town, for the Inhabitants (being in the utmost Confusion, and apprehending that the *Macedonians* would enter at the same time with their own Men) over-hastily shut the Gate, delivering up their Friends to the fury of the Enemy. In the mean time *Ephialtes*, who was no less formidable by his Hopes than his Despair, gallantly maintain'd the Fight against the King's Troops, and had made the Victory doubtful, if the Veteran *Macedonians* had not seasonably come to the Assistance of their distress'd Companions. These Veterans, tho' in the Camp, were exempt from all Duty, except in case of Necessity, notwithstanding they enjoy'd at the same time their Salaries, and other *Premiums* ; and indeed they had deserv'd this Honour by their brave Behaviour under former Kings, and even under *Alexander*, as having pass'd their whole Life in military Exercises. These Men therefore observing their Companions terrify'd, and decli-

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ning the Engagement, and looking about, as it were for a Place to retire to, flew to their Relief under the Command of *Atharias*, and having renew'd the Fight that began to grow languid, they forc'd the young Soldiers, by reproaching them with their shameful Behaviour, to resume their Courage; then making a furious Attack all at once, and out of Emulation striving who should do the *Enemy* most Mischief, in a moment Fortune turn'd to their side; *Ephialtes*, with the bravest of his Party was slain, and the rest were drove into the Town, a great many *Macedonians* enter'd it at the same time with 'em, and the Town was near being taken by Storm when the King gave Orders to sound a Retreat, either out of a desire to save the Place, or else because the Day being in a manner spent, he apprehended Danger from the Night, and the Ambuscades that might be laid for him, in the unknown parts of the City. This Fight consum'd the chief Strength of the Besieged, wherefore *Memnon* having deliberated with *Orontobates* (who was Governor of the Town) and the other Generals, on what was proper to be done, caus'd the wooden Tower, and the Arsenals where their Arms were kept, to be set on Fire in the dead time of the Night, as also those Houses that were near the Wall, which soon taking Fire, and the Flames from the Tower and Arsenal (being blown by the Wind) increasing, it made a dreadful Conflagration: The bravest part of the Inhabitants and Soldiers retir'd into a Castle built within an Island, others got into *Salmacis*, another Castle, so call'd from a Fountain that is there, of great Fame; and the Generals sent the rest of the Multitude, and all their most valuable Things in the Island of *Cos*. *Alexander* being inform'd by Deserters, and his own Observation of what pass'd in the Town; altho'

it was Midnight he commanded the *Macedonians* to enter the Place, and put all to the Sword they should find promoting the Fire, but to forbear injuring those who kept themselves within their Houses. The next Morning he took a View of the Fortresses the *Persians* and hir'd Troops had possess'd themselves of, finding they would require a long Siege to reduce 'em, and that having made himself Master of the Capital City of the Country, it was not worth his while to trifle away his time about 'em; he raz'd the Town, and commanded *Ptolemy*, to whose Care he had committed the Country of *Caria* (leaving with him three thousand Foreigners, and two hundred Horse, for that Purpose) to observe those Castles, which were encompass'd both with a Wall and Ditch. Not long after *Ptolemy*, having joyn'd his Forces with those of *Asander*, Governor of *Lydia*, defeated *Orontobates*; and the *Macedonians* being enrag'd, and not able to endure so tedious a delay, apply'd themselves strenuously to the Siege of the Castles, and reduc'd them.

But the King whose Thoughts had already laid the Scheme of taking into his Conquests *Phrygia*, and the adjoining Provinces, sent *Parmenio* with the Bands he honour'd with the Title of his Friends, the auxiliary Horse, and the *Thessalians* commanded by *Alexander Lyncestes*, to *Sardis*, with Orders from thence, to make an Irruption into *Phrygia*, and get from the Enemy Provisions and Forrage for the Army that was coming after, allotting him Waggon's for that use. Afterwards understanding that several of the *Macedonians* (who had marry'd a little before the Expedition) impatiently desir'd the Company of their Wives: He gave *Ptolomy Seleucus's* Son the Command of 'em, and order'd him to conduct 'em home, that they might pass the Winter with their Wives. *Canos* and *Meleager*, two
of

of his Captains, went along with them on the same account. This endear'd the King mightily to the Soldiers, and made 'em more chearfully undergo the remote Service; for they perceived he had a Consideration for 'em, and reasonably hop'd they should now and then obtain leave to see their Friends. At the same time, he commanded the Officers *to be very diligent in raising Recruits during their Residence in Macedonia, and at the Beginning of the Spring, to bring him as many Horse and Foot as they could, besides those they now conducted home.* Here he observ'd, that his Army was infected with the Manners and Customs of the *Asiatics*, and that there was in the Camp a great Number of *Catamites*, he order'd therefore a strict Search to be made for 'em, and sent 'em into a little Island in the *Ceramick Gulph*. The place partook of their Infamy, and to perpetuate the Memory thereof, the Town was call'd *Cinadopolis*

C H A P. XI.

THESE Affairs being thus transacted, *Alexander* continu'd in his first Resolution of reducing all the maritime Coast, and by that means render the Enemy's Fleet useless to 'em: And therefore having made himself Master of the *Hyparnians* by the Treachery of the hir'd Troops (who surrender'd the Castle to him) he march'd towards *Lycia*. Here taking into his Protection the *Telmisenses*, and having pass'd the River *Xanthus*; the Town that bears that Name, with *Pinara* and *Parara* considerable Places in that Country, and about thirty more submitted to him; so that having settled things well enough for the present, he pro-

ceeded on to *Mylias*, which is a part of the greater *Phrygia*, but the *Kings* of *Persia* had thought fit to join it to *Lycia*. While he was here receiving the Fealty of the Inhabitants, Ambassadors came to him from the *Phaselita*, desiring his Friendship, and presented him with a Crown of Gold, as a Token of their kind Reception of him; a great many Towns of the lower *Lycia*, did the same. The *King* therefore having sent proper Persons to take Possession of the Towns of the *Phaselita*, and the *Lycij*, in a few Days march'd himself to *Phaselis*. This City was then endeavouring to reduce a strong Fort, that the *Pisida* had rais'd within their Territories, from whence they did the Inhabitants a great deal of Mischief: But upon *Alexander's* Arrival, this Fort was soon taken. He remain'd with the *Phaselita* some Days to refresh himself and his Army, the Season of the Year inviting him to do so; for it being then the middle of Winter, the Badness of the Roads would have made his Marches uneasy. Here having indulg'd a Glass, and being in a merry Humour, and beholding the *Statue* that the People had erected to *Theodectes*, he went to it, and dancing about it, flung several Garlands of Flowers upon it; for he had contracted a Familiarity with him, and receiv'd him into his Favour when they were both at the same time Pupils to *Aristotle*. However, this jovial Humour was soon interrupted by the shocking Message he receiv'd from *Parmenio*. This General had taken up a *Persian* call'd *Asifinas*, whom *Darius* had indeed sent publickly to *Atysies* Governor of *Phrygia*, but with these private Instructions: That he should watch an Opportunity to speak in private to *Alexander Lyncestes*, and promise him the Kingdom of *Macedon*, and a thousand Talents of Gold, if he perform'd what was agreed between 'em; for *Lyncestes* had

had formerly gone over to the *Perfians* with *Amyntas*, and had took upon him the treasonable Office of killing the King.

He hated *Alexander* on several Accounts, but particularly for having put to Death *Heromenes* and *Arrabeus* his Brothers, for being privy to the Murther of his *Father*. And notwithstanding he himself was pardon'd, and loaded with Honours, so as to be doubly indebted to the King; yet his natural Cruelty was such, and his Ambition of Power so great, that he thought nothing a Crime that was instrumental to his obtaining a *Crown*. The thing being examin'd in Council, the King's Friends represented to him, *his excessive good Nature, which had made him not only pardon a Man detected in the foulest of Crimes, but heap Honours upon him, even to the giving him the Command of the choicest Part of the Horse. Who could he hope would be faithful to him hereafter, if Parricides not only went unpunish'd, but were received into the greatest Favour, and had the chiefest Dignities, and most considerable Employments conferr'd upon 'em? That it was necessary to redress in time, the Error he had been led into by his too great Clemency; lest if Lyncestes should be sensible that he was discover'd, he should stir up the inconstant Temper of the Thessalians to a Revolt. That the Danger was not of a nature to be contemned, since there could not be a greater imagin'd. Besides, that it would be no less than slighting the Deity's Care it self, who was pleas'd after so remarkable a manner, to admonish him of the treacherous Designs against him. For the King, during the late Siege of Halicarnassus, being laid down in the Afternoon, to refresh himself after his Fatigues and Labours, a Swallow, which is a Bird remarkable for Omens, flutter'd round about his Head as he was asleep, making a considerable Noise, and sometimes settling on this*
side,

side, sometimes on that side of the Bed, chattering louder than is usual. But as the King was much tir'd, it did not altogether waken him; however, as it was troublesome to him, he brush'd it away with his Hand. Notwithstanding which, the Bird was so far from being frighten'd, that it even settled upon his Head, and did not leave off chirping, till having thoroughly waken'd him he scar'd it quite away.

This Accident was by *Aristander*, interpreted after this manner: *He said the King was in Danger from one of his Friends, but the Treason would not remain undiscover'd; the Nature of the Bird seeming to foretel as much, for it is more familiar with Man than any other, and at the same time is a great Chatterer.* Having duly considered these things, and finding *Asifines's* Discovery to agree with the Diviner's Answer, and moreover having been carefully warn'd by his Mother, *to have a particular Eye upon this Man*, he thought all farther Delay might be of ill consequence, and therefore sent Instructions to *Parmenio*, what he should do upon this Occasion. For as we took notice before, *Alexander Lyncestes* was gone along with him into *Phrygia*. Now left by some Accident or other, the King's Design should be unseasonably betray'd, he would not trust it in writing, but sent it by Word of Mouth, by a trusty and honourable Person. *Amphoterus* Brother to *Crater*, was pitch'd upon, who putting on a *Phrygian* Habit, instead of the *Macedonian*, and taking along with him some of the *Pergenses* for his Guides, he came in Disguise to *Parmenio*. Hereupon *Alexander Lyncestes* is seiz'd, and notwithstanding his Punishment was for a long time put off, in consideration of his own and his Family's Quality and Interest, yet three Years after, when *Philotas's* Accomplices were executed, he was put to Death likewise, sharing

ring in their Punishment, for having participated in their Crime. Besides the Detection of this Plot against his Life, the *King* moving from *Phaselis*, had soon another Token of the Deity's Favour and Protection. He had sent Part of his Army to the Town of the *Pargenses*, and follow himself with the rest thereof, along the Coast, where the Mountain *Climax* looks into the *Pamphylian* Sea, and leaves but a narrow Way to Travellers, even when the Sea is calm; but when this is tempestuous, the other is drown'd by the overflowing Waters; which frequently happens in Winter, if not always. But *Alexander*, who dreaded nothing more than Delay, led his Army through the rough, as well as smooth, with equal Ardour and Expedition. The South Wind having blown for some Days, had cover'd the Ways with Water: There fell at the same time, great and frequent Rains, as is usual when those Winds blow. However, upon *Alexander's* Approach, the North Wind rose on the sudden, and dispers'd the Clouds, and driving the Waters back into the Sea, open'd a Passage to the *Macedonians*. Notwithstanding which, he was forc'd to wade thro' several unknown Fords, which took his Men sometimes up to the Middle. At the same time that I allow *Alexander's* great Assurance in Dangers, to proceed from the undoubted Greatness of his Soul, yet I cannot but think it receiv'd some Increase from the many *Presages* and *Omens* in his Favour; since he thereby conjectur'd he was destin'd to perform great and noble Exploits.

While he was yet in *Macedonia*, there appear'd to him a Person of a Figure, more venerable than one of human Extraction, advising him to follow him into *Asia*, to overthrow the *Persian* Empire. When the *King* came into *Phanicia*, he was put in mind of his Dream, by the High-Priest of the
Jews,

Jews, whose Dress reviv'd in his Memory, that of the Object he had beheld in his Vision. For while *Alexander* was employ'd in the Siege of Tyre, he had commanded the neighbouring *Kings* and People to submit to him, and raise him Soldiers. But the *Jews* who were Masters of the famous City of *Jerusalem*, excusing themselves, as being in Alliance with *Darius*, rejected the *King's* Friendship. He therefore being incens'd thereat, march'd into *Judea* with a Design to punish the Contumacy of that People. But the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, to appease the *King's* Anger, went out of the Town to meet him, with their Wives and Children, in a suppliant manner. The *Priests* led the Procession, being cloth'd with fine Linnen, the People follow'd cloth'd also in White, and *Jaddus* the *High-Priest* in his Pontifical Habit, was at the Head of the Multitude. The *King* admiring the Beauty of this pompous Procession, alighting from his Horse, advanc'd alone, and having first ador'd the Name of God that was engrav'd on a Gold Plate in the *High-Priest's* Mitre, he afterwards saluted the *High-Priest* himself. The Unexpectedness of the thing, struck all the Spectators with Amazement. And the *Jews*, who not only saw themselves freed from their imminent Danger, but also taken into Favour, contrary to their Expectation, surrounded the *King*, praising and congratulating him, and offering up their Prayers for his Prosperity. On the contrary, the little *Kings* of *Syria*, who were bitter Enemies of the *Jews*, and had followed *Alexander* in hopes to gratifie their Eyes with the Punishment of their inveterate Foes, were so astonish'd, that they in a manner doubted, whether what they beheld, was a Reality, or whether their Senses were impos'd upon by a Dream; nay, the *Macedonians* themselves, were not less surpriz'd at the unusual Spectacle; insomuch that *Parmenio* ap-

proaching

proaching the King, took the Liberty to ask him, *Why he shew'd so much Respect to foreign Ceremonies, since to receive it from so vile a Nation, were unworthy so great a King?* Hereupon Alexander told him his Dream.

After which, he enter'd into the Town, and in their most beautiful Temple offer'd Sacrifices to God according to the receiv'd Custom of the Place, bestowing on it many noble Presents. Here he saw also their sacred *Books* which contain'd several ancient Prophecies; among which, there was this, that *Tyre* should yield to the *Macedonians*, and that the *Persians* should be overcome by a *Greek*. He looking upon himself to be the Person meant therein, granted the *Jews* the liberty of living both at home and abroad, according to their own Customs and Laws: And because their Land lies until'd every seventh Year, he ordain'd that they should be freed from that Proportion of their Taxes. He was mightily taken also with the Nature of the Country, which (besides the other Fruits which it produces in as plentiful a manner as any other) alone affords the Balm-Tree. Alexander made *Andromachus* Governor of these Provinces, whom the *Samaritans* (the *Jews* mortal Enemies) barbarously murder'd a little Time after. But these things were transacted after the Reduction of *Tyre* and *Gaza*, tho' we lay hold of this Occasion to relate 'em before-hand.

C H A P. XII.

ALEXANDER having pass'd the narrow Way that lies along the *Pamphylian* Sea; upon his March from *Perga*, was met on the Road by Ambassadors from the *Aspendij*, desiring they might

might not be compell'd to receive a Garison, promising in consideration of that Exemption, fifty Talents towards the Soldiers Pay, and as many Horses as they us'd, to maintain by the way of Tribute for the King of *Persia*. From thence the King advanc'd to the *Sideta*, who are seated near the River *Melas*; they are of the Race of the *Cumans* of *Æolia*, but are barbarous in their Speech, having lost their *Greek*; not by length of *Time*, as it often happens, but they say, that their *Ancestors* at their first coming into those Parts, on the sudden forgot their native *Language*, and spoke one till then unknown.

Having taken Possession of *Sida*, which is the *Metropolis* of *Pamphylia*, he was marching towards *Syllium*, a Town strong by its Situation, and provided with a numerous Garison of Foreigners and neighbouring *Barbarians*. In consideration whereof, and because he was inform'd that the *Aspendij* had revolted, he alter'd his Course, and march'd to *Aspendus*. The Inhabitants were so mightily surpriz'd at the sudden Arrival of the *Macedonians*, that forsaking their Houses, they retir'd into the *Cittadel*. So that *Alexander* taking Possession of the empty Town, encamp'd under the Castle; and as he had with him very able Engineers, he by the Sight of his Preparations to attack 'em, oblig'd 'em to sue for Peace on their first Terms. Nothing could happen more to *Alexander's* Wish (who had greater Designs in view) than that he was not stopt in his Career by a long Siege, for the Place was no way contemptible. However, that the Revolters might not go altogether unpunish'd, he required the most considerable of the Citizens to be deliver'd to him as Hostages, and as the Tax of Money that had been first impos'd, was not yet paid, he now impos'd upon 'em double that Sum. He also added, That they should obey the Governour he set over 'em, and

and pay a yearly Tribute to the *Macedonians*; and as for *the Territory*, from whence they had driven some of their Neighbours by Force, *they were to be determin'd in that Point by the Law.*

Having perform'd these things, he took the Road that leads to the Town of the *Pergensesis*, and from thence march'd into *Phrygia*. But in his March that way, he was oblig'd to pass thro' a very strait and narrow Lane, form'd by two Mountains that almost join to one another, near *Telmessus* a Town belonging to the *Pisida*. The Entrances into this Lane are so strait, that they may be compar'd to Gates: Here the *Barbarians* had posted themselves, resolving to dispute *Alexander's* Passage. But he presently caus'd his Army to encamp at the very Entrance, concluding (what afterwards happen'd) that the *Telmessenses*, seeing the Tents pitch'd, would imagine the Danger to be delay'd, and so would not long remain in those Straits, but leaving a competent Number of Men to guard 'em, would retire into the Town. *Alexander* therefore laying hold of this Opportunity, order'd the *Archers* and *Slingers* to advance, as also those of the heavy arm'd Troops that were least encumber'd; and having beat those that guarded the Pass, he went and encamp'd before the Town. Here Ambassadors came to him from the *Selgenses*, who (out of their inveterate Hatred to the *Telmessenses*, altho' of the same Nation) offer'd their Friendship and Assistance to the King. He having receiv'd 'em very graciously, that he might not waste his Time in the Siege of one Place, he went and encamp'd before *Sagalassus*, which is a strong Place, and was well provided with the Flower of their Forces for its Defence; for tho' all the *Pisida* are warlike and brave, yet the *Sagalassenses* are esteem'd the stoutest of 'em all. These being reinforc'd with Troops from the *Telmessenses*, their
Allies.

Allies, and having more Confidence in their own Courage, than in their Walls, had drawn up their Army on a neighbouring Hill, and by reason of the Advantage they had of the Ground, they repuls'd the light-arm'd Forces *Alexander* had sent against 'em: However, the *Agriani* made an obstinate Resistance, and seem'd to be encourag'd by the Approach of the *Macedonian* Phalanx, and the King's Presence, whom they beheld before the Colours. The Soldiers labour'd under great Difficulties while they forc'd their Way up the Hill; but as soon as they had got a little firmer Footing, they easily dispers'd the Multitude of Mountaineers that were but half arm'd. There fell in this Action of the *Macedonians*, *Cleander*, who was a Captain, and about twenty private Men: Of the *Barbarians*, five hundred were slain; the rest sav'd themselves by flight, and the Knowledge of the Country. The King pursu'd them as fast as Troops so encumber'd with Arms, possibly could, and at the same time made himself Master of their Town. He carry'd his Arms against the other strong Places of *Pisidia*, of which he reduc'd some by Force, others he receiv'd by Composition. He raz'd *Telmessus*, for the Obstinacy of its Inhabitants, whom he depriv'd of their *Liberty*, and a little after, he united 'em with some other Cities of *Pisidia*, to the Government of *Celane*. *Alexander* having thus quieted these bold People, continu'd his March into *Phrygia*, by the Lake *Ascanius*, whose Waters naturally come to a Concretion, and so save those who live within its Neighbourhood the trouble of going farther for Salt.

While these Things were doing, *Memnon* having got together the scatter'd Remains of his Army, resolv'd to carry the War into *Greece* and *Macedonia*, and by that Diversiion, force *Alexander* to leave *Asia*. For *Darius* now put all his Hopes in him

him alone, seeing he had by his Bravery and Conduct kept the Conqueror so long in play at *Halicarnassus*; He therefore made him *Generalissimo* of all his Forces, and sent him a vast Sum of Money. *Memnon* by this Help, having hir'd as many Troops as he could, sail'd up and down the Seas without Opposition, his Fleet consisting of three hundred Ships. He now took into serious Consideration, what could either favour or cross his Designs: And having made himself Master of those Places that were less carefully guarded, (among which was *Lampsacus*) he attack'd the Islands which the *Macedonians* could not succour for want of a Fleet, notwithstanding they were Masters on both sides the Continent.

The great Divisions that reign'd among the People was of mighty Advantage to *Memnon* in his Undertaking: For as some were in *Alexander's* Interest on account of their *Liberty* which he had restor'd to 'em; there were others, who, having got together great Riches under the *Persians*, preferr'd their own private Power, under their old Masters, to a general Equality in a free *Republick*. This made *Athenagoras* and *Apollonides*, (who were two of the most considerable Men of the Isle of *Chios*) having communicated their Design to *Phisinus* and *Megareus*, and others of their Faction, invite *Memnon* thither. Thus *Chios* was taken by Treachery, where having left a sufficient Garrison, the Administration of Affairs was by him put into the Hands of *Apollonites* and his *Associates*.

From thence sailing to *Lesbos* he with small Opposition made himself Master of *Antissa*, *Pyrrha*, and *Eressus*. He establish'd *Aristonicus* in the Regency of *Methymna*, and reduc'd the whole Island, except the famous City of *Mitylene*, which held out a considerable time, and was not taken by *Memnon* himself: For when he had rais'd a great
many

many Works about the *Town*, had shut up the Port, and dispos'd his Ships in proper Places, to cut off all Succour from the Place; he was seiz'd with the Plague, and so frustrated all the Hopes of the *Persians*, to their irreparable Damage. But when he found he was near his End, he resign'd his Command to *Pharnabazus* his Sister's Son, whom she had by *Artabazus*, till *Darius* being inform'd of his Death, should provide otherwise. *Pharnabazus* therefore dividing the Duties of the Siege with *Autophradates*, the Admiral so streighten'd the besieg'd, that they surrender'd upon the following Conditions: *That the Garrison should be permitted to march off unmolested: That the Pillars on which were engrav'd the Terms of their Alliance with Alexander should be flung down; and swearing Allegiance to Darius, they should call home half of those who were banish'd.* But the *Persians* did not observe all the Articles of Capitulation; for having introduc'd Soldiers to the Town, they made *Lycomedes* the *Rhodian*, Governor; assigning the Regency of the Country to *Diogenes* on the Account of his Zeal for the *Persian* Interest. After this they extorted Money from the richest Inhabitants, notwithstanding which the common Tax of the *Mytilenians* was not at all lessened.



QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.



IN the mean time *Alexander* sent *Cleander* with a considerable Sum of Money to raise Recruits in *Peloponnesus*; and having settl'd the Affairs of *Lycia* and *Pamphilia*, advanced his Army, before the Town *Celena*, which the River *Marsias* at that time divided in two. This River was much celebrated by the fabulous Relations of the *Greek* Poets. Its Spring rises out of the Top of a hill, and falls afterwards upon a Rock beneath it, with a mighty Noise, from whence it diffuses it self, and waters the neighbouring Plains, being very clear, as carrying along with it nothing but its own pure Streams. Its Colour therefore resembles that of the calm Sea, and thereby gave Birth to the Fiction

ction of the Poets, who pretend, *that the Nymphs being in love with this River, took up their Residence in that Rock.* So long as it runs within the Walls, it retains its own Name; but when it leaves the Town it grows larger and becomes more rapid in its Course, and is then call'd the *Lycus.* Alexander finding the Town deserted by its Inhabitants, enter'd it; and was preparing to attack the Cittadel into which they had fled: He therefore sent a *Herald* to 'em, to let them know, that if they did not surrender the Place, *they must expect the utmost Severities.* But they taking the *Herald* into a high Tower, strong both by Nature and Art, bid him *take a View of its Height and acquaint Alexander, that the Inhabitants and he had different Notions of its Fortifications:* They knew they could not be reduc'd; but however: let the worst come that could, they were ready to lay down their Lives for their Loyalty. Yet when they saw they were formally besieg'd, and that every thing grew scarcer with 'em from one day to another; they agreed upon a Truce for two Months, in which time if they received no Relief from Darius, they promis'd to surrender; and accordingly (no Succour appearing) they submitted to the King, on the day prefix'd for that Purpose. About this time Ambassadors came to him from the *Athenians*, to desire that those of their City, who had been made Prisoners at the Battle near the River *Granicus* might be restor'd to 'em. Alexander made Answer, *that not only their Citizens, but likewise all the other Greeks should be restor'd to their respective Cities, as soon as the Persian War was ended.* However as he long'd to come to an Engagement with *Darius*, who, as he was inform'd, had not yet pass'd the *Euphrates*; he from all Parts summon'd his Troops, that he might be able with his whole Strength, to come
to

to a decisive Action with him. He was then leading his Army through *Phrygia*; which abounded with Villages, but had not many Towns. Yet there was one still in Request call'd *Gordium*, the ancient Seat of *Midas*. The River *Sangarius* runs through it, and it is seated between the *Pontick* and the *Cilician* Seas. These Seas almost unite, having but a small Neck of Land to part 'em, each Sea striving to encroach upon the Land, and reducing it into a narrow Strait. But yet tho' it reaches the Continent, and as it is almost surrounded with Water, it seems to represent an Island; insomuch, that were it not for this slender Partition, these Seas would join. *Alexander*, having made himself Master of the Town, went into *Jupiter's* Temple: where they shew'd him *Gordius's* Chariot, who was father to *Midas*. This Chariot in outward Appearance differ'd very little from the common Sort. But there was one thing in it very remarkable, which was a Cord so mysteriously ty'd into Knots, so artfully interwoven one within the other, that no Body could find out where they began, nor where they ended: The Inhabitants giving him to understand, *That the Oracle had declar'd, that he that could untie that Knot should conquer Asia*, he was mighty desirous to fulfil the Prophecy. The King was then surrounded with a great many *Phrygians* and *Macedonians*: Those impatiently waited for the Event, and these were full of Concern for the rash Undertaking of their Prince: For the Series of Knots was so perplex'd, that neither Reason nor Sense could direct him in the Discovery either of its Beginning or End. Hereupon the King being apprehensive that his failing in this Point might be look'd upon as ominous, after a long and fruitless Struggle with the Intricacy of the Knots, broke out into this Expression, *That it was not very ma-*

terial how they were unty'd; so taking his Sword he cut them all asunder, and by that means either eluded or fulfill'd the *Prophecy*.

Alexander being now resolv'd to find out *Darius* wherever he was, that he might leave all things in Safety behind him, he gave to *Amphoterus* the Command of his Fleet, on the Coast of the *Hellepont*; and declar'd *Hegelochus* General of the Land Forces, giving them Orders to drive out the *Persian* Garrisons from *Lesbos*, *Chios*, and *Coos*, and ordered them fifty Talents for the said Uses: he sent at the same time to *Antipater*, and the other Governors of the *Greek* Cities, six hundred Talents. He required also of his Confederates that they should with their own Ships defend the *Hellepont*. The *King* was not yet inform'd of *Memnon's* Death, who was then the chiefest of his Care, being well assur'd that he should meet with nothing to stop him, unless it was through his means.

Alexander was by this time come to the Town *Ancyra*, where having muster'd his Army, he enter'd *Paphlagonia*: which border'd upon the *Eneti*, from whence some are of Opinion the *Venetians* are descended. All this Country readily submitted to the *King*; and having giv'n him Pledges for their future Loyalty, they obtain'd an Exemption from *Tribute*, it appearing they had not paid any even to the *Persians*. He gave *Calas* the Government of this Country, and march'd himself into *Cappadocia*, taking with him the new Levies that were lately come from *Macedonia*.

C H A P. II.

BUT *Darius* receiving the News of *Memnon's* Death, was no less griev'd thereat than the Importance of the thing requir'd; and hereupon laying aside all other Hopes, resolv'd to decide the Matter in Person: for he blam'd all his Generals, concluding that most of them had been negligent, but that they were all unfortunate. Having therefore form'd a Camp near *Babylon*, that they might enter upon the War with the greater Courage, he drew all his Forces together in Sight of the City: where having intrench'd such a Space of Ground as would conveniently hold ten thousand Men after *Xerxes's* Method, he took a List of the Number of his Army. From the rising of the Sun till Night, they kept moving into this intrench'd Ground, according to their respective Rolls, and from thence they were distributed in the Plains of *Mesopotamia*.

The Multitude of his Horse and Foot was almost innumerable, and yet in appearance they seem'd to be still more than they really were. Of *Persians* there were one hundred thousand, whereof thirty thousand were Horse. The *Medians* made up ten thousand Horse and fifty thousand Foot. The *Barcanians* consisted of two thousand Horse, arm'd with two-edg'd Bills and light roundish Bucklers, and ten thousand Foot arm'd after the same manner. The *Armenians* had sent forty thousand Foot, and seven thousand Horse. The *Hircanians*, who were in great Repute among those Nations, furnish'd six thousand Horse. The *Derbicas* had fitted out forty thousand Foot, most of 'em arm'd with Pikes, and the rest with Staves harden'd in the Fire; these were also accompa-

ny'd with two thousand Horse of the same Nation. From the *Caspian* Sea there came eight thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse: These had with 'em of the less considerable *Asiaticks* two thousand Foot, and double that Number of Horse. Besides these Troops, there were thirty thousand *Greeks* in their Pay, all chosen young Men. As for the *Bactrians*, *Sogdians*, and *Indians*, and the other Inhabitants bordering on the *Red Sea*, whose Names were hardly known to him, the Haste he was in would not permit him to wait for their coming. It is plain from hence that he wanted nothing less than Number of Men.

The Sight of this vast Multitude was so grateful to him, and his Nobles, according to their usual Flattery, so swell'd his Hopes, that turning to *Charidemus* an *Athenian*, an experienc'd Soldier, and an Enemy to *Alexander* on the Account of his Banishment (for he had been expell'd *Athens* by his Order) he ask'd him, *Whether he thought him well enough provided to overthrow his Enemy?* But *Charidemus*, unmindful of his Condition, or the King's Pride, made this Answer: *Perhaps, Sir, you may not be pleas'd with the Truth, and yet if I do not tell it now, it will be in vain for me to tell it hereafter. This Army of yours that makes so great an Appearance, this vast Multitude compos'd of so many different Nations, and of all the Eastern Countries, perhaps may be terrible to the neighbouring People: The Purple and Gold with which it is adorn'd, the Splendor and Riches of its Arms is such, that they who have not beheld it with their Eyes, can hardly bring their Thoughts to conceive an Appearance of this nature. But the Macedonian Army is dreadful to behold, and are inur'd to protect their immoveable Wedges, and the united Strength of their Men with*
their

their Pikes and Bucklers. Their Phalanx is a firm Body of Foot ; the Men stand in close Order, and their Arms are in a manner united ; they are so perfectly well exercis'd, that they know how (upon the least Signal giv'n) to follow their Colours and observe their Ranks. The Word of Command is by all obey'd at once : Whether it be to repel the Enemy, to wheel about, or change the Order of Battle, the Officers themselves are not more expert, than the common Soldiers. And that you may not think they value Gold or Silver, they have learn'd this Discipline in the School of Poverty : When they are tir'd the Ground is their Bed ; they satisfy their Hunger with any thing they can get. Now as for the Thesſalian Horſe, the Acarnanians, and the Ætolians, they are an invincible Body of Men, and ſhall I believe they are to be repus'd with Slings, and Pikes harden'd in the Fire ? No, Sir, there muſt be an equal Strength, and you ought to ſeek for Succour in that Country that produc'd theſe Men : ſend therefore that Gold and that Silver to hire Troops from whence they came. Darius was naturally of a mild and tractable Diſpoſition, but his high Station now and then tainted it. Being therefore unable to bear the Truth, he broke through the Laws of Hoſpitality and commanded both his Guerd and Suppliant and beſt Adviſer, to be hurried away to Execution. However even that did not hinder him from ſpeaking his Mind freely ; for he told the King, I have one at hand that will revenge my Death, and he that I adviſ'd againſt will chaſtiſe you for ſlighting my Counſel : And you, that by the Regal Prerogative are ſo ſuddenly chang'd, ſhall be an Example to Poſterity, that when Men abandon themſelves to their Fortune, they even forget Nature. While he was making this publick Declaration, the Executioners cut his Throat. The

King was afterwards touch'd with too late a Repentance ; and acknowledging *he had spoke the Truth*, order'd him *to be buried*.

C H A P. III.

T*Hymodes*, *Mentor's Son*, was a brisk young Man : *Darius* commanded him to receive from *Pharnabazus* all the foreign Forces ; for he had great Confidence in 'em, and design'd therefore to make use of 'em in the War : At the same time he gave to *Pharnabazus* the same Commission that *Memnon* had. Now as *Darius's* Thoughts were wholly taken up with the Views of the present important Affairs, he had also in his Sleep several Dreams, that seem'd to foretel the Event of things ; which whether they proceeded from Solicitude and Care, or that his Mind had a real Foreknowledge of what was to happen is uncertain. He dream'd that the *Macedonians* Camp was all on Fire ; and a little after that *Alexander* was brought to him in the same Garb he was in himself when he was chosen King, and that having rid through the City, he on the sudden vanish'd, Horse and all. The Judgments of the *Soothsayers* were various, and kept People in suspence : for some of 'em said, *His Dream portended good Luck*, by reason that the *Enemies Camp was on fire*, and *Alexander having laid aside his Regal Robes*, had been brought to him in the private Dress of the *Persians*. Others were of a clear different Opinion, and said, *That the Brightness of the Macedonian Camp was a Token of Alexander's future Splendour* ; who they conjectur'd would make himself Master of Asia, because he had appear'd in the same Dress *Darius* had

had on when he was saluted King. The present Anxiety had also received past Prefages, as it usually happens. *Darius in the Beginning of his Reign had order'd the Persian Scabbard to be chang'd into that Form that the Greeks us'd ; hereupon the Chaldeans prognosticated that the Persian Empire should pass into the Hands of those, whose Arms they had imitated.* However he was wonderfully pleas'd with the *Interpreter's Exposition*, which was spread among the *Vulgar*, and with the Representation of his *Dream* ; and therefore gave Orders for his Army to move towards the *Euphrates*.

It was an ancient Custom among the *Persians* not to break up their Camp till the Sun was rose, and then the Trumpet gave Notice from the *King's Tent* ; upon which the Image of the *Sun* was plac'd, enclos'd in a Crystal Case.

The *Army* march'd in the following Order. The *Fire*, which they hold to be sacred and eternal, was carry'd before on Silver Altars. The *Magi* follow'd next, singing Verses after their Country Manner. These were succeeded by three hundred sixty five Youths, cloath'd in scarlet, answering the Number of the Days of the Year ; for the *Persian* Year is divided into so many Days. After these came the Chariot consecrated to *Jupiter*, which was drawn by white Hoses ; these were follow'd by a *Horse* of an uncommon Heighth and Bulk, and was call'd *the Horse of the Sun*. The *Drivers* were adorn'd with golden Wands, and white Habits. At a small distance follow'd ten Chariots embellished with a great deal of Gold and Silver finely engrav'd. Next came the Cavalry of twelve Nations, different in their Manners, and variously arm'd. After these march'd those whom the *Persians* call the *Immortal*, being ten thousand in Number ; among all the *Barba-*

rians none were more richly clad : They had gold Chains about their Necks, and their Clothes were embroider'd with Gold ; besides which they had sleev'd Jackets, finely adorn'd with Pearl. At a small distance follow'd those who went by the Denomination of the King's Relations, consisting of fifteen thousand Men. This Band being dress'd almost after the manner of Women, was more conspicuous for its *Luxury* than for its *Arms*. The *Doryphori* came next, who carry'd the King's Apparel ; these preceded the Kings Chariot, where his Seat was so high that he was easily seen. Each Side of the Chariot was curiously set off with the Images of the Gods, wrought in Gold and Silver ; the Beam of it glitter'd with precious Stones, and bore two Images of Gold about a Cubit high, one whereof represented *Ninus*, and the other *Belus* : Between these was plac'd a sacred Eagle of Gold with its Wings expanded. But the Magnificence of the King's Apparel exceeded every thing ; his Purple Vest was neatly interwrought with Silver Stripes, and his upper Garment was most artfully embroider'd with Gold, and was besides beautified with the Representation of two Hawks wrought in Gold, who seem'd to peck at one another. His Girdle was after the Womens Mode also of Gold, at which hung his Sword, which had a Scabbard of Pearl. The Royal Ornament for the Head, is by the *Persians* call'd a *Cidaris*, this was encompass'd with a Roll of a sky Colour, with a Mixture of white. The Chariot was follow'd by ten thousand Pikemen, whose Pikes were plated with Silver, having their Spikes tipp'd with Gold. The King had on his right and left about two hundred of the noblest of his Relations. This Body was attended by thirty thousand Foot who were follow'd by four hundred of the King's Horses. After

ter these, within the distance of one Furlong, was *Sysigambis*, *Darius's* Mother, in one Chariot, and his *Queen* in another: The Troop of Servants that waited on the *Queen's*, was on Horse back, next came fifteen cover'd Waggons, in which were the *King's* Children with their *Tutors* and *Eunuchs*, which are not accounted contemptible in these Nations. Then follow'd three hundred and sixty of the *King's* Concubines, all in regal Apparel. The *King's* Money which was carry'd by six hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, attended by a Guard of Archers, went next. After these came the Wives of the *King's* Relations and Friends, who were follow'd by Crowds of Servants and Slaves. The whole was concluded by the light arm'd Soldiers with their respective Officers who brought up the Rear. Such was *Darius's* Army.

But he that beheld *Alexander's* would find it altogether different; for neither the Men nor the Horses glitter'd with Gold nor rich Apparel, but with their Iron and Brass; yet his Troops were always ready either to halt or to march, being neither burthen'd with Followers, nor overloaded with Baggage; ever attentive, not only to the General's Signal, but even the least nod of his Head: He had room enough to encamp in, and Provision enough for his Army; so that when it was drawn up in order of Battle, he could see a single Soldier was not wanting. Whereas *Darius*, who was *King* of so vast a Multitude, by the straightness of the Place in which he fought, was reduc'd to the small Number he had despis'd in his Enemy.

C H A P. IV.

IN the mean time *Alexander* having appointed *Abistamenes*, Governor of *Cappadocia*, march'd with his Army towards *Cilicia*, and was already come to the Place they call *Cyrus's Camp* ; this part of the Country was so call'd from *Cyrus's* having encamp'd there, as he was marching into *Lydia* against *Cræsus*. It was about fifty Furlongs distant from the narrow Passage that leads into *Cilicia*, which by the Inhabitants is call'd *Pylæ*, being narrow Straits, which Nature seems by Situation to have made as strong as if they had been fortify'd by the Hand of Man. Upon Advice of this, *Arfanes*, who was Governor of *Cilicia*, calling to mind *Memnon's* Counsel at the beginning of the War (when it would have been of Use) executed the same when it was too late ; ravaging *Cilicia* with Fire and Sword, that the Enemy might find it a mere Desert, spoiling every thing that could any way be useful, that he might leave that Country naked and barren, which he could not defend ; but it had been much more advisable to have seiz'd the Pass, and to have guarded it with a strong Body of Men, and to have made himself Master of the Mountain that commands the Road, from whence it had been easie, without the least danger, either to have kept off, or to have oppress'd the Enemy. However, he having left a few to defend the same, went back himself to lay waste that Country, that he ought to have preserv'd from Depredations. This made those he left there (imagining they were betray'd) not so much as wait for the sight of the Enemy, when at the same time a smaller Number might have defended that Place ; for *Cilicia* is hemm'd
in

in by a Ridge of craggy steep Hills, which beginning at the Sea on one side, and fetching a compass about, joins again to the Sea on other side. The back of the Mountain that lies farthest from the Sea, has three very narrow Passes, by the one of which you enter *Cilicia*; that part of it that lies towards the Sea is Champain, and has its Plains water'd by several Rivers, of these *Pyramus* and *Cydnus* are the most considerable. The *Cydnus* is not so remarkable for the largeness of its Stream, as for the clearness of its Water; for falling gently from its Fountain-head, it is received in a pure Soil, and has no Torrents falling into it to disturb its gentle Current. This is the cause that its Waters are very clear, and at the same time mighty cold; for being shaded by the Trees that grow on its Banks on each side, it preserves its Purity all the way till it falls into the Sea. Time has impair'd a great many ancient Monuments in this Country, which have been celebrated by the Poets: Here are to be seen the Ruins of the Towns *Lyrnessus* and *Thebes*, as also *Tryphon's* Cave, and the *Gorycian* Grove, which affords Saffron; with the Fame of many other Curiosities, which subsist now only in Report.

Alexander having enter'd these Straits, and consider'd the Nature of the Place, was seiz'd with an Admiration of *his own Felicity*, for he did not scruple to confess, *That he and his Army might have been knock'd on the Head with Stones only, if there had been but Hands to have rowl'd 'em down upon 'em as they pass'd under the Mountain.* The Way was so narrow that four Men could hardly march a breast; besides, the back of the Hill hung over it, and it was not only difficult on the score of its streightness, but also for its being in many Places broken, by the several Rivulets that flow from the bottom of the Hills.

Alexander therefore order'd the light arm'd *Thracians* to march before, and examine the narrow ways, for fear the Enemy should lye there in Ambuscade to surprise him. He also sent a Body of Archers to possess themselves of the top of the Hill, ordering them to march with their Bows ready bent, admonishing 'em that they were not entring upon a March, but upon an Engagement. In this Order he advanc'd to the City of *Tarsus*, which the *Persians* were then setting on Fire, that so rich a Place might not fall into the Hands of the Enemy. But the King having sent *Parmenio* before with a Detachment of light Horse, to put a stop to the Fire, sav'd the Place; and understanding that upon approach of his Men the *Barbarians* were fled, enter'd the Town he had preserv'd.

C H A P. V.

THE River *Cydnus* (of which we before made mention) runs thro' this City, and it was then the summer Season, at which time the Heat is no where more violent than in this Country of *Cilicia*, and it was the hottest time of the Day. The clearness of the Stream invited the King to wash the Sweat and Dust off his Body, which at that time was over heated; therefore he pull'd off his Clothes in sight of the Army, (thinking it would still encrease their Esteem for him, if they perceiv'd he was not over nice in the Care of his Person, but was contented with that Refreshment that was cheap and always at Hand) and went into the River: He was no sooner in it but a sudden horror seiz'd all his Limbs, and he turn'd pale, the vital Heat having almost forsaken his Body. Hereupon

Hereupon his Servants took him up, and carry'd him into his Tent, he being like one expiring, and equally insensible.

The Camp was now in the greatest Affliction and Concern, nay almost in Tears; they bewail'd the hard Fate of their King (*the greatest and most memorable Prince of any Age, that he should*) be in such a manner snatch'd away, in so promising a course of Success; and that too, not in Battle, nor by the Hand of the Enemy, but bathing himself in a River. That Darius was now almost in the Neighbourhood, and would be a Conqueror without so much as seeing his Enemy. That they should be forc'd to march back as Men vanquish'd, through those Countries they had so lately subdu'd; and as either they themselves or the Enemy had laid every thing waste in their March, they should perish even by Famine and Want, in such vast Wildernesses, altho' no Enemy pursu'd 'em. Who would presume to be their Leader in their Flight? Who would dare to succeed Alexander? And admitting they made a good Retreat to the Hellespont, who would prepare a Fleet to transport 'em? Then turning their pity again to the King, they lamented, *that such a Flower of Youth, such a Genius and strength of Mind, their King and their fellow Soldier at the same time, should be as it were torn from 'em, after so surprizing a manner.* In the mean time Alexander began to breathe a little more freely, and to open his Eyes, and by degrees recovering his Senses, to know those about him; and the height of his Distemper seem'd to abate, if it were but in this, that he was now sensible of the greatness of his Sickness. The Indisposition of his Body now affected his Mind, for he was inform'd, *that Darius was but five Days March off of Cilicia.* It greiv'd him to think, *that he should be deliver'd as it were bound into the Hands of his Enemy;*
that

that so glorious a Victory should be wrested from him, and that he should die after an obscure and ignoble manner in his Tent. Having therefore called together his Friends and Physicians, he spoke to 'em to this Effect, You see in what Juncture of my Affairs Fortune has surpriz'd me ; methinks I hear the noise of the Enemy's Arms, and I that was the Aggressor am now provok'd to Battle ; one would think that when Darius writ those haughty Letters to me, that my Fortune had been of his Council, but yet in vain, if I may be permitted to be cur'd my own way. My Occasions do not require slow Medicines, nor timorous Physicians ; nay, I had better dye resolutely than to recover my Health slowly ; therefore if there be any Help or Art in my Physicians, let them know, that I do not seek so much a Remedy against Death, as against the impending War. This violent Temerity fill'd all the standers by with Concern, every one therefore began to entreat him, that he would not entcrease his Danger by too precipitous a haste, but that he would commit himself to the Care of his Physicians ; that they did not without Cause distrust untry'd Remedies, since the Enemy had with Money tempted those about him to his Destruction (for Darius had publickly notify'd, that he would give a thousand Talents to whoever should kill Alexander ;) that on this Account they did not believe any Body would dare to make tryal of a Remedy, that by its novelty might give just cause for Suspicion.

C H A P. VI.

THERE was among the eminent Physicians that had follow'd the *King* from *Macedonia*, one nam'd *Philip*, an *Acar*nan by Nation, a faithful Friend of the *King's*, to whose Care *Alexander* had been committed from his Childhood; he therefore lov'd the *King* with a particular Tenderneſs, looking upon him not only as his *King*, but also as his Pupil. This Man promis'd *Alexander* that he would give him a Doſe of Phyſick that ſhould work its Effects ſoon, and yet ſhould not fail of curing his Diſtemper. This Promise pleas'd no Body but him at whoſe Peril it was made, for he lik'd any thing better than delay: The Armies were conſtantly before his Eyes, and he thought himſelf ſure of the Victory if he could but head his Men. The only thing he diſlik'd was, that he was not to take this Medicine (for ſo the Phyſician had pre-acquainted him) till three Days were elaps'd.

While theſe things were doing he receives Advice from *Parmenio*, in whom he chiefly confided, *not to truſt Philip with his Health, for that Darius had corrupted him with the promiſe of a thouſand Talents, and the hopes of his Siſter in Marriage.* Theſe Letters fill'd him with Anxiety and Care, he weigh'd within himſelf whatever either Fear or Hope could ſuggeſt to him. *Shall I take this Potion? That in caſe it be Poyſon I may be thought to deſerve whatever happens? Shall I diſtruſt the Fidelity of my Phyſician, or ſhall I reſolve to be oppreſt in my own Tent? However, it is better I ſhould dye by another's Crime than my own Fear.* Theſe things work'd his Mind different ways, yet he did not reveal to any Body the Contents of the

the Letter, but sealing it with his Ring, he laid it under his Pillow. Having pass'd two Days in this Agitation of Mind, the third was now at hand, which was the Day prefix'd by his Physician for the taking his Medicine, the which he accordingly brought him. *Alexander* seeing him, rais'd himself upon his Elbow, and holding *Parmenis's* Letter in his left Hand, took the Potion from him and drank it off boldly; and then gave *Philip* the Letter to read, keeping his Eye fix'd upon his Countenance all the time, judging that if he were Guilty, there would appear some Symptoms of Guilt in his Looks. *Philip* having read the Letter, shew'd more Indignation than Fear, and flinging down his Cloak and the Letters at the Bed side, he said, Sir, *my Life has always depended on your Majesty, but I look upon it now to do so in a particular manner, since the sacred breath you draw must determine mine. As for the Treason and Parricide I am charg'd with, your Recovery will sufficiently declare my Innocence; and I beg that when I have sav'd your Life, you'll graciously grant me mine. In the mean time suffer the Medicine to work it self into your Veins, and compose your Mind, that your Friends, tho' out of Duty, have unseasonably disturb'd.* This Speech not only made the King easie, but chearful, and full of Hopes. He therefore told *Philip*, *That if the Gods had given him the choice of an Expedient to know how he was affected towards him, to be sure he would have pitch'd upon some other: But however, he could not have wish'd for any more certain than that which Fortune now offer'd him; for you see that notwithstanding the Letter I receiv'd, I took the Potion you gave me, and I believe you are now no less solicitous for your own Fidelity, than for my Recovery.*

Having spoke these Words, he gave him his Hand, but when the Medicine began to exert it self,

self, the Symptoms that ensu'd seem'd to back *Parmenio's* Advice; for he was so far spent that he with much difficulty drew his breath. However, *Philip* omitted nothing that was proper, he apply'd Fomentations to his Body, and when he fainted he restor'd him by the Odour of Meats and Wine; and as soon as he perceiv'd him to grow sensible, he put him in mind sometimes of *his Sister and Mother*, and then again of the approaching Victory.

But when the Physick had wrought it self into his Veins, there began to appear manifest Tokens of his Recovery; for his Mind was first restor'd to its former Vigour, and then his Body regain'd its Strength sooner than could have been expected. For in three Day's time he shew'd himself to the Army, which was overjoy'd to see him, and almost with equal Eagerness beheld *Philip*, whom they carress'd, returning him Thanks as to a present Divinity. Besides the natural Veneration this Nation has for its *Kings*, it is not easy to express, how particularly they admir'd and lov'd *Alexander*. For in the first place, he seem'd to undertake nothing but with the immediate Assistance of the *Deity*; and as *Fortune* sided with him in every thing, his very Rashness always turn'd to his *Glory*. Besides, as his Years did not seem ripe for such great Performances, yet as he acquitted himself worthily thereof, they were so far from lessening 'em, that they even added to their Lustre. Moreover, there are many things which, tho' inconsiderable in themselves, yet are very acceptable to the Soldiery; as his exercising his Body amongst 'em, his extraordinary Apparel that differ'd little from that of a private Man, and his military Vigor, by which Endowments of Nature, or Arts of his Mind, he made himself both belov'd and respected.

C H A P. VII.

AS soon as *Darius* was inform'd of *Alexander's* Indisposition, he march'd with all the Expedition so great a Multitude would admit of, to the *Euphrates*, and having laid a Bridge over the same, his Army pass'd it in five Days; for he desir'd to prevent his Enemy in the Possession of *Cilicia*. But *Alexander* having recover'd his Strength, was now come to the Town call'd *Soli*, which he made himself Master of, and rais'd by Contribution from it, two hundred Talents, putting a Garrison into the Castle. Here he perform'd the Vows he had made for the Recovery of his Health, and celebrated Sports in Honour of *Æsculapius* and *Minerva*, shewing thereby with what Assurance he despis'd the *Barbarians*. While he assisted at these Games, he receiv'd an Express from *Halicarnassus*, which brought him the favourable News of the *Persians* being beat by his Forces, and that the *Mindians* and *Cannians*, with several other People in those Parts, were brought under his Obedience.

The Sports being ended, he decamp'd, and having laid a Bridge over the River *Pyramus*, he came to the City of *Mallos*; from whence he broke up, and came to *Castabala*. Here he was join'd by *Parmenio*; whom he had sent to view the Passage of the Forest through which he was to march to the Town *Issus*. *Parmenio* having seiz'd these Passes, and left a sufficient Number of Men to guard them, had also taken Possession of *Issus*, which the Inhabitants had abandon'd; from hence he advanc'd farther on, and drove the Enemy from their Holds in the Mountains, and having secur'd the Roads, as we said before, he return'd to the King, both the Performer and the Messenger of

of these Successes. Upon this, *Alexander* march'd his Army to *Iffus*, where he held a Council to consider, *Whether he should advance any farther, or wait there for the coming up of the new Levies that he suddenly expected from Macedonia.* *Parmenio* was of Opinion, that he could not pitch upon a properer Place to give a Battle in, since there the Troops of both Kings, would be reduc'd to an equal Number, by reason the Straits would not admit of a Multitude. That they ought to avoid the Plains and open Fields where they might be surrounded, and oppress'd by the Inequality of Number. For he did not fear so much their being overcome by the Bravery of the Enemy, as by their own Weariness. Whereas the Persians in a more spacious Place, would be constantly reliev'd by fresh Troops. So wholesome a Counsel was easily approv'd of, and therefore he resolv'd to wait there for the Enemy.

There was at this time in the *Macedonian* Army, a *Persian* nam'd *Sisines*, who had formerly been sent by the Governor of *Ægypt* to King *Philip*, This Man being courteously entertain'd, and honourably promoted in *Macedon*, chose rather to remain there, than return to his own Country; but upon *Alexander's* Expedition into *Asia*, he accompany'd him, and was of the Number of those the King confided in. A *Cretan* Soldier having one Day deliver'd him a Letter seal'd with an unknown Seal from *Nabarzanes* one of *Darius's* Lieutenants, he exhorted him therein, to do something worthy his Quality and Merit, assuring him, that the King would not fail to requite him for it. *Sisines* being altogether innocent, had often endeavour'd to shew *Alexander* this Letter, but finding him always busie, and taken up with his Preparations for the ensuing Action, he waited for a more favourable Opportunity; but this Delay gave a Suspicion of his being ill inclin'd. For the Letter was brought

brought first to *Alexander*, who having read it, seal'd it with an unknown Seal, and order'd it to be deliver'd to *Sisines*, intending thereby to try his Fidelity. But he not attending on the King for several Days, was look'd upon to suppress the Letter out of an evil Design; so that he was kill'd by the *Cretans*, no doubt by *Alexander's* Order.

C H A P. VIII.

BY this time the Greek Mercenaries that *Thymodes* had receiv'd from *Pharnabazus*, and in whom *Darius* plac'd his chief Hopes, were arriv'd in his Camp. These would fain have perswaded him to retire, and gain the Plains of Mesopotamia. If he did not approve of this, at least to divide his vast Army, and not suffer the whole Strength of his Kingdoms to depend upon one single Stroke of uncertain Fortune. This Advice was not so disagreeable to the King, as to his Nobles. They urg'd, That there was no relying upon the Fidelity of these Men, that they were brib'd to betray the Army, which they would have divided for no other Reason but that they might deliver up to *Alexander* whatever should be committed to their Trust. Therefore the safest way were to surround 'em with the whole Army, and cut 'em to pieces at once, for an Example to all Traytors. But as *Darius* was a religious Prince, and of a mild Disposition, he abhorr'd so barbarous a Counsel, as that of butchering those who had put themselves under his Protection, and were actually in his Service. Which of all the foreign Nations, said he, would trust their Lives with him hereafter, if he should stain his Hands with the Blood of so many Soldiers? Besides, no Body ought to suffer Death for giving weak Advice,
since

since there would be no such thing as Counsellors, if their Lives must be in Danger for speaking their Opinion. That they themselves were every Day consulted by him, and he heard their different Sentiments, yet he did not esteem them that gave him the most prudent Counsel, to be more faithful than the rest. Wherefore he made this Answer to the Greeks, That he thank'd 'em for the good Disposition they express'd, but as for his going back, he did not think it convenient, since he should thereby deliver up his Kingdom as a Prey to his Enemy: That the Reputation of War depended on Fame, and he that retires, is look'd upon to fly. As to the prolonging the War, it was impossible, by reason the Winter was coming on, and there would be no Means to subsist so vast an Army, in a Country already wasted both by himself and the Enemy. That he could not divide his Forces without acting contrary to the Practice of his Predecessors, who always brought their whole Strength when they hazarded a Battle. And in Truth, that terrible King, who while he was at a distance, was puff'd up with such a vain Assurance, when he understood that he was near at hand, of rash was become cautious, and lay lurking in the Straits of the Forest, like the cowardly Beasts, who at the least Noise of the Passengers, hide themselves in the Woods. That even now he counterfeited being sick, to disappoint his Soldiers. But however, it should now be no longer in his Power to refuse fighting, for if he did, he would seize him in the very Den his faint Heart had made him repair to for Safety.

This Speech had more of Ostentation in it, than of Truth. However Darius having sent all his Money, and his most precious Moveables, under a moderate Guard to Damascus in Syria, march'd with the rest of his Army into Cilicia; his Royal Consort and Mother following in the Rear of the Army,

according to the Custom of the Country. His Daughters also and little Son, accompany'd their Father. *Alexander*, as it happen'd, came the same Night to the Straits that lead to *Syria*, and *Darius* to a Place call'd the *Amanica Pyle*. The *Persians* made no doubt but the *Macedonians* had abandon'd *Iffus* which they had taken, and were fled : For they had intercepted some of the wounded and sick, that could not keep up with the Army ; and *Darius* at the Instigation of his Nobles, who were urg'd on by a barbarous Inhumanity, having caus'd their Hands to be cut off and fear'd, order'd them to be led about his Camp, that they might take a View of his Army, and having satisfy'd their Curiosity, report to their King what they had seen. After this, *Darius* decamp'd, and pass'd the River *Pinarus*, with a Design to pursue the routed, as he thought 'em. In the mean time, those whose Hands had been cut off, arrive in *Alexander's* Camp, and inform him, *that Darius was following 'em with the utmost Diligence*. The King hardly believ'd 'em ; and therefore sent Scouts to the Maritime Regions, to know for certain, *whether Darius was there in Person, or whether some of his Grandees did not counterfeit coming with the whole Strength of the Kingdom*. But by that time the Scouts return'd, the vast Multitude appear'd at a distance, and in a little time, Fires were kindled all over the Camp, which had the Appearance of a general Conflagration, the disorderly Multitude dispersing themselves more loosely for the Convenience of their Cattle. Hereupon *Alexander* ordered his Army to pitch their Tents, being overjoy'd that he was to come to a decisive Action in those Straits, a thing he had long wish'd for. Nevertheless (as it usually happens, when the Time of Danger draws nigh) his great Assurance began to turn into Solicitude and Care. And he now seem'd

seem'd to distrust that *Fortune*, by whose Assistance he had been so successful, and did not without some Reason conclude her to be very fickle, from the many Advantages she had bestow'd on himself. He reflected, *That there was now but the space of a single Night between him and the Event of so great a Hazard*: Then again he consider'd, *That the Reward would be still much greater than the Danger*; and altho' it was as yet doubtful, whether he should gain the Victory or not, however, this was undeniably certain, that if he perished, he should die honourably and with universal Applause. He therefore order'd the Soldiers to go and refresh themselves, and to be in readiness with their Arms at the third Watch: In the mean time, he went himself to the Top of a high Hill, having with him several Torches and Lights, and there after the manner of his Country, offer'd Sacrifices to the Gods of the Place. The Trumpet had now given the third Warning, according to Order, and the Soldiers were ready either to march or to fight; and being commanded to march with the utmost Diligence, they came by break of Day to the Straits they design'd to possess themselves of. By this time, they that were sent to get Intelligence, came and acquainted him, that *Darius* was but thirty Furlongs off: He therefore commanded the Army to halt, and having put on his Armour, he drew up his Army in Order of Battle. The affrighted Peasants came now to *Darius*, giving him to understand, that the Enemy was at hand, who could hardly be persuaded that those he thought to pursue as Fugitives, should dare to give him the meeting: Hereupon his People were all seiz'd with a sudden Fear; for they were better prepar'd for a March than for Battle; they therefore take to their Arms in haste, and the very Hurry they were in on that Occasion, increas'd

increas'd their Terror. Some got up to the Top of the Hill, that from thence they might take a View of the Enemy; others were bridling their Horses: So that the Discord that reigned in this Army, which was not guided by the Direction of any single Person, fill'd all things with a tumultuary Confusion. At first *Darius* had resolv'd with part of his Troops to take Possession of the Top of the Hill, in order to attack the *Enemy* both in Front and Rear, appointing others to do the same on the side of the Sea which cover'd his Right, that so he might press upon 'em from all Parts. Moreover he had sent before twenty thousand Foot with a Band of Archers, with Orders to pass the River *Pyramus* (that runs between the two Armies) and charge the *Macedonians*: and if they found that impracticable, to retire to the Mountains, and secretly surround their Rear. But Fortune, that is superior to all Reason, disappointed his prudent Measures; for some out of fear did not dare to execute their Orders, and others executed them to no Purpose: for where the Parts fail, the whole is confounded.

C H A P. IX.

AS for the main Body of his Army it was drawn up after this manner; *Nabarzanes* was in the Right Wing with his Horse, and about twenty thousand Slingers and Archers; here were also the thirty thousand mercenary *Greeks* commanded by *Thymodes*. These were beyond all doubt the main Strength of the Army, a Body equal to the *Macedonian Phalanx*. In the Left was *Aristomedes* the *Theffalian*, with twenty thousand of the *Barbarian* Foot, behind 'em were plac'd

plac'd the most warlike Nations as a Body of Reserve. The *King* being here in Person, was attended by three thousand chosen Horse, the usual Guard of his Body, and forty thousand Foot, which were follow'd by the *Hyrcanian* and *Median* Cavalry: That of the other Nations was dispos'd on the Right and Left as Occasion requir'd.

The Army thus drawn up, was preceded by six thousand Slingers and Darters. There was not the least Space in the *Straights* but was fill'd with Troops; in so much that one of the Wings extended it self to the Mountains, and the other to the Sea. The Queen Confort, with *Darius's* Mother, and the rest of the Women, were receiv'd in the Center of the *Army*.

Now *Alexander* drew up his Army so that the *Phalanx*, which is the chief Strength of the *Macedonians*, was in the Front: The Right was commanded by *Nicanor*, the Son of *Parmenio*; next to him were *Canos*, *Perdiccas*, *Meleager*, *Ptolemy*, and *Amyntas* with their respective Corps: On the Left (that extended it self to the Sea) were *Craterus* and *Parmenio*; but *Craterus* had Orders to obey *Parmenio*. The Horse were plac'd as Wings on each Side; the *Macedonians* with the *Thessalians* on the Right, and the *Peloponnesians* on the Left. In the Front of all was a Body of *Slingers* intermixt with *Archers*. The *Thracians* likewise and the *Cretans*, who were also lightly arm'd, advanc'd before the main Army. The *Agrianians* who were lately arriv'd from *Greece* were commanded to make Head against those whom *Darius* had sent before to take Possession of the Top of the Mountain. The *King* had order'd *Parmenio*, to extend his Forces as far as he could towards the Sea, that they might lie at a greater Distance from the Hills, that the Barbarians had taken Possession

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of.

of. But *Darius's* Men neither oppos'd the Troops that march'd against 'em, nor dar'd to surround those who had pass'd 'em, but fled at the very first Sight of the Slingers; which secur'd *Alexander's* Army from being flank'd from the higher Ground, which was what he was afraid of. They march'd thirty two in a Rank; for the Straightness of the Place would not admit of a greater Number: But as the Passage between the Mountains, by Degrees grew wider and wider, and stretch'd it self out into a larger Space, the Foot had not only Room to extend their Ranks, but the Horse had also Liberty to form their Wings on each Side of 'em.

C H A P. X.

THE two Armies were now in Sight of each other, but out of the reach of their Darts; when the *Persians* first gave a confus'd but terrible Shout, which the *Macedonians* return'd with Advantage, altho' fewer in Number, by reason of the Repercussion from the neighbouring Hills and Woods, which multiply'd every Sound that reach'd 'em. *Alexander* rid at the head of his Army, making Signs with his Hand to his Men, not to march too fast, that they might not be out of Breath, and so might be able to charge the Enemy with the greater Fury. Then riding along the Line, he made a different Speech to the several Troops, suitable to their different Dispositions. He reminded the *Macedonians* of their experienc'd and harden'd Courage, and of their numberless Victories in Europe, and that they were come thither voluntarily under his Conduct, to subdue all Asia, and to extend their Conquests even to the utmost Bounds

Bounds of the East. That they were the Deliverers of the oppressed, throughout the whole World, and that having carry'd their Victories as far as Hercules and Bacchus had formerly done, they were to give the Law, not only to the Persians, but also to all the Nations of the Universe. That Bactra and the Indies were to be theirs. That what they had in View at present was but inconsiderable in comparison of what the Victory promis'd 'em. That the broken Rocks of Illyria, or the barren Country of Thrace, should no longer be the Reward of their Labour; for now the Spoils of all the East were laid before 'em. That there would hardly be Occasion for their Swords; their very Reputation having already made such an Impression upon the fearful Diffidence of the Enemies Army, that they might drive 'em with only their Bucklers. He refresh'd their Memory, with the Victory his Father Philip had gain'd over the Athenians, with the late Conquest of Beotia, and the razing its principal City. He put them also in mind of the Granick River: of the many Towns they had either reduc'd by Force, or receiv'd by Submission. In fine, He reminded 'em of all their past Conquests. When he came to the Greeks, He told 'em, that these were the People, that had made War upon Greece, through the Insolence of Darius first, and then of Xerxes; who requir'd no less than all the Water as well as Land; even to the drinking their very Fountains dry, and consuming all their Provisions. That these were they who had destroy'd and burnt the Temples of their Gods, taken and plunder'd their Towns: in a word had broke through all the Laws divine and human. As for the Illyrians and Thracians who were accusom'd to live by Rapine, He bid 'em behold the Army of their Enemy, how it glitter'd with Gold and Purple, insomuch that they might not be said to carry Arms, so properly as a

Booty. That as Men, they had nothing to do but to rifle those weak Women of their Gold; and to make an Exchange of their Craggy Mountains, and naked Tracts, which were perpetually cover'd with Ice and Snow, for the fruitful Plains and Fields of Persia.

CHAP. XI.

BOTH Armies were now within the Cast of their Darts, when the *Persian* Horse gave a furious Charge on the left Wing of the Enemy: For *Darius* was desirous to decide the Matter by the Horse, being sensible that the *Phalanx* was the chief Strength of the *Macedonians*, and *Alexander's* right Wing was near being surrounded; which he perceiving, order'd two Squadrons to keep Possession of the Top of the Hill, and commanded the rest to assist their Fellows who were engag'd. Then having drawn off the *Thessalian* Horse, he commanded their Officer secretly to fall behind the Army and join *Parmenio*, and vigorously to execute his Orders.

By this time the *Phalanx* was in a manner enclos'd by the *Enemy*, but yet bravely maintain'd its Ground. However as they stood too close to one another, they could not cast their Darts with freedom; for those that were flung at the same time, meeting in the Air, so intermingl'd that they fell with little or no Force, very few of 'em reaching the Enemy, and the greatest part falling on the Ground without doing any Execution. Wherefore they gallantly drew their Swords, and engag'd the *Persians* in a close Fight. Here it was that a great deal of Blood was spilt; for the two Armies were so near each other that they parry'd their mutual Thrusts

Thrusts with their Swords, directing their Points in one anothers Faces. Here the cowardly or the timorous were not suffer'd to be idle: for joining Foot to Foot, they fought after the manner of single Duellists, and kept the same Spot of Ground, till having slain their Adversary they made themselves Way: And even then a fresh Enemy engag'd him that was already fatigu'd. Besides, the Wounded could not, as is customary, withdraw from the Fight, the Enemy pressing upon 'em in Front, and their own Men in the Rear. *Alexander* not only discharg'd the Duty of a General, but also of a private Soldier, and was ambitious of killing *Darius* with his own Hand. For as he was so loftily seated in his Chariot, that he was easily seen by all, it was a mighty Encouragement to his own Men to defend *him*, and at the same time no less a Provocation to the Enemy to attack *him*. This made *Oxathres* the King's Brother, as soon as he perceiv'd *Alexander's* Design, bring the Horse that he commanded before *Darius's* Chariot. He was remarkable for the Splendor of his Arms, as well as for his personal Strength, and had a tender Affection for the King, and distinguish'd himself very much in his Defence, killing those who press'd on too rashly, and putting others to flight. But the *Macedonians*, who were also near the King, so encourag'd each other, that with *him*, they broke into the Enemies Horse. Here the Slaughter was like a meer Butchery. The noblest Commanders lay wallowing in their Blood round *Darius's* Chariot, having had the Satisfaction of his being a Witness to their dying gallantly for his Defence: They all fell upon their Faces, in the Places where they fought, having all their Wounds in the fore Part of their Body. Among the rest, were to be seen *Atixyes*, *Rheomithres* and *Sabaces* the Governor of *Egypt*, who had all com-

manded great Armies, and round them lay Heaps of Foot and Horse of an inferior Rank. Of the *Macedonians* there did not fall many, but the bravest and forwardest among 'em; *Alexander* himself being slightly wounded in the Thigh. The Horses that drew *Darius's* Chariot being stuck in many Places, and enrag'd with the Pain, began to kick and fling, and were like to cast him out of his Seat, when fearing lest he should fall alive into the Hands of his Enemies, he leap'd down and mounted a Horse that was ready for that purpose, ingloriously flinging away the Tokens of his *Dignity*, lest they should betray *him* in his Flight. *Darius* being fled, the remaining Part of the Army was soon dispers'd through Fear, every one flinging down those Arms he had taken for his Defence, and making the best of his Way: Such being the Nature of Fear, as to dread even that which should protect it.

Parmenio order'd a Body of Horse to pursue them that fled, and it happen'd that all that Wing had taken to their Heels. But in the right Wing the *Persians* press'd hard upon the *Thessalian* Horse, and had already broke down one of their Squadrons; but the *Thessalians* wheeling about and rallying, charg'd the *Persians* afresh with so much Bravery, that they easily routed their disorder'd Troops, who had broken their Ranks, thinking themselves secure of the *Victory*. The *Persian* Horses as well the Riders, being loaded with Armour, could not wheel about but with great Difficulty, and as that is an Act that depends on Celerity, the nimbler *Thessalians* kill'd a great many of 'em before they could perform their Wheel. When *Alexander* was inform'd of his Advantage also on this side, tho' he did not dare to pursue the *Barbarians* before, yet as soon as he found he had gain'd a compleat Victory, he resolv'd to pursue the Enemy. The King had not
above

above a thousand Horse with him, and yet he made a prodigious Slaughter of the Enemy. But who examines into the Number of Troops either in a Victory or Flight? They were drove therefore by this handful of Men, like so many Sheep; and the same Fear that made 'em fly, retarded their Flight. But the *Greeks* that were hir'd by *Darius*, and commanded by *Amyntas* (formerly one of *Alexander's* Lieutenants, tho' now a Malecontent and a Defserter) separating themselves from the rest, retreated in good Order.

The *Barbarians* in their Confusion, took several Roads; some took the direct Road to *Persia*, some fetching a Compass, repair'd to the Rocks and the close Woods of the Mountains, a small Body of 'em betook themselves to *Darius's* Camp; but the Enemy had already enter'd the same, where they found all manner of Riches. There was an immense Treasure of Gold and Silver (which seem'd rather to be intended for Pomp and Luxury, than for the Use of the War) which fell a Prey to the Soldiers. And as they increas'd their Plunder, they lighten'd themselves by flinging away what their Avarice made 'em think of less Value in comparison of a richer Booty. They were now come among the Women, who the richer they were clad, were by the Soldiery more outrageously strip'd of their Ornaments: Nay, their very Bodies were not exempt from what Power and Lust could inspire. The whole Camp was fill'd with Cries and Lamentations, according to every one's Fortune, there being no sort of Evil that they did not experience, since the Cruelty and Licentiousness of the *Victor* rag'd through all Ranks and Ages.

Here was at the same time, a particular *Specimen* of the Impotency of *Fortune*, for those very Persons who had dress'd up *Darius's* Tent with all the Opulency and Luxury imaginable, took Care

of the same for *Alexander*, as if he had been their first Master. For this was the only thing the Soldiers had left untouch'd, in compliance with an ancient Custom that preserv'd always the Tent of the conquer'd Prince, for the Reception of the Victorious. But of all the Captives, the Mother and Wife of *Darius* drew the Eyes and Reflections of all Beholders upon 'em. The first was venerable, not only by her Majesty, but also by her Age; the latter, by her consummate Beauty, which even her present Calamities did not impair. She held in her Lap her young Son, who did not yet exceed six Years of Age, and who was intitul'd by his Birth, to that vast *Fortune* his *Father* had just lost. *Darius's* two Daughters that were then marriagable, lean'd on their *Grandmother's* Bosom, not more afflicted at their own Misfortune, than at hers. Round about her stood a Crowd of noble Ladies, with their Hair and Garments torn, unmindful of their former Splendor, calling upon the *Queens* with the distinguishing *Titles* of *Majesty* and *Sovereign*, which once belong'd to them, tho' they now depended upon another's Pleasure. But the *Queens* themselves forgetting their own Disaster, were inquisitive in which *Wing* *Darius* fought, and what was his Success? For they still deny'd they were Prisoners, if the King were safe. At the same time, as he often chang'd Horses, he was got a great way off. There fell of the *Persians* in this Action, one hundred thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse. On *Alexander's* side, there were of the Foot, five hundred and four wounded, and thirty two kill'd; and of the Horse, one hundred and fifty were slain. So inconsiderable was the Loss that procur'd him so glorious a Victory.

C H A P. XII.

THE King being very much fatigu'd in his Pursuit after *Darius*, finding that Night approach'd, and that there were no hopes of overtaking him, return'd to the Camp which his Men had a little before taken Possession of. Here he invited those of his Friends he was most familiar with, to an Entertainment; for the Hurt he had receiv'd in his Thigh, being but Skin deep, it did not hinder him from being present at the Banquet. But a sudden mournful Clamour, intermixt with a barbarous Outcry from a neighbouring Tent, disturbed their Merriment. Hereupon the Band that kept Guard at the King's Tent, thinking it was the Beginning of a greater Mischief, immediately took to their Arms. The Cause of this unexpected Alarm, was owing to the Cries and Lamentations of *Darius's* Mother, his Wife, and the rest of the noble Ladies, who believing the King was slain, bewail'd him after their Country manner. For one of the captive *Eunuchs*, who chanc'd to stand before their Tent, saw one of the Soldiers carrying *Darius's* Cloak, which he had cast away lest it should betray him in his Flight; and judging thereby that the King was kill'd, had acquainted the Queens with the false Supposition. It is said, *Alexander* being inform'd of the Ladies Mistake, wept in Compassion of *Darius's* Fortune, and the pious Disposition of the Women. He therefore first sent *Mithrenes* (who had surrender'd *Sardis*) to 'em (he being well vers'd in the *Persian* Language) to comfort 'em in their Affliction; then reflecting that the Sight of this Traitor might aggravate their Grief, he order'd *Leonatus*, one of his Nobles, to assure 'em, That they were in the wrong to lament

Darius *as dead, since he was actually living.* Leonatus taking a few arm'd Soldiers with him, went accordingly to the Tent where the *Royal Captives* were, and notify'd that he was come thither with a Message from the King. But they that waited at the Entry of the Tent, as soon as they perceiv'd the Men in Arms, concluding the Fate of their Mistresses was now at hand, run into the Tent, crying out, *That their last Hour was come, and that the King had sent Soldiers to kill 'em.* However, the *Queens* not being able to make any Opposition, and not daring to give Orders for their coming in, made no Answer at all, but silently expected the Pleasure of the Conqueror. Leonatus therefore having waited a considerable time for some Person to introduce him, when he found no Body dar'd to come to him, leaving his Men without, he enter'd into the Tent alone; that of it self was sufficient to frighten the Ladies, because he rush'd in without having obtain'd Admittance. Hereupon Darius's Mother and Wife, flinging themselves at his Feet, implor'd him to grant them leave to bury Darius's Corps after the manner of their Country, before he put them to Death, telling him, that after they had perform'd the last Rites to their King, they were ready to submit to their Fate. But Leonatus, to their great Surprize, assur'd 'em, that Darius was living, and that for their own Parts, they should not only be in Safety, but be us'd as *Queens*, with all the Splendor of their former Grandeur. Upon this Darius's Mother suffer'd her self to be help'd up. The next Day Alexander took Care to bury his Dead, and order'd the same Honour to be shewn to the most considerable among the Persians that were slain. And gave leave to Sizygambis to bury as many as she pleas'd, after the manner of the Country. But she was contented to shew that Honour only to some few of her nearest Relations,

and even in reference to them, *had a Regard to her present Circumstances*; imagining that the Pomp that the Persians use on that Occasion, might be taken ill by the Conquerors, who are contented to burn their own dead with little or no Ceremony. Alexander having discharg'd this Office to the Dead, notify'd to the Captive *Queens*, that he was coming to pay them a Visit; and leaving his Attendants without, enter'd the Tent with *Hephaestion* only, who of all his Friends was most in his Favour, as having been educated with him: He was privy to all his Secrets, and alone had the Privilege of speaking freely to him, even to admonish him upon Occasion; which Liberty he was so far from abusing, that whenever he us'd it, he seem'd to do it rather by the King's Permission than of his own Authority; and as he was of like Age with the King, so he had the Advantage of him in the Beauty of his Person. The *Queen* therefore mistaking him for the King, paid him Homage after their manner; but some of the *Eunuchs* reminding her of her Error, and shewing her which was the King, she flung her self at his Feet, *excusing her Ignorance, as never having seen him before*. But the King lifting her up, said to her, *Mother, you were not mistaken, for he too is Alexander*. Now if he had preserv'd the same Moderation to the End of his Life, I should have esteem'd him happier than he seem'd to be when he imitated the Triumph of *Bacchus*, after his Conquest of the several Nations from the *Hellepont* to the *Ocean*. He would then have suppress'd his *Pride* and his *Anger*, which he afterwards found *invincible Evils*. He had not then embru'd his Hands in the Blood of his Friends at Table: He would then have been asham'd to put to Death those renowned Warriors (who had help'd him to conquer so many Nations) without so much as giving them a Hearing. But at that

time, the Greatness of his *Fortune* had not got Possession of his Mind, so that he bore its first Beginning with Moderation and Prudence, tho' at last she grew too vast for his Capacity. At first he behav'd himself so as to excel all the *Kings* before him, in *Clemency* and *Continency*; for his Deportment towards the Royal Virgins, was so religiously virtuous, tho' they were perfect Beauties, that he could not have acted with more Reserve, had they been his own Sisters: And as for *Darius's* Wife, notwithstanding her Beauty was such as to be exceeded by none of her time, he was so far from offering Violence to her, that he took due Care that no Body else should offer at that Usage of his Captive. He commanded *all manner of Respect to be paid to the Royal Ladies*, insomuch that there was nothing wanting to their primitive Magnificence tho' in Captivity, except Confidence in the Conqueror. *Sizygambris* therefore address'd herself to him in this manner:

*You deserve, Sir, that we should offer up the same Vows for you that we formerly made for Darius; for as far as I can see, you are worthy to surpass him, not only in Felicity, but also in Justice. You are pleas'd to call me Mother and Queen, but I acknowledge my self to be your Servant; for notwithstanding I am able to bear my former Dignity, yet I find I can conform my self to my present Servitude. But it is for your Glory and Honour, that you express the Power you have over us, rather by your Clemency and Goodness, than by your Anger and Severity. The King hereupon bid 'em not be dejected, and then took Darius's Son in his Arms, who was so far from being frighten'd, tho' it was the first time he had seen him, that he put his Hands about his Neck: The King was so mov'd at the Child's Constancy, that turning to *Hephestion* he said, how glad should I be, if Darius had had something of this*

this Child's Disposition. Then taking his leave of the *Queens*, he went away, and having caus'd three *Altars* to be erected on the Bank of the River *Pinarus*, in Honour of *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, and *Minerva*, he march'd into *Syria*, sending *Parmenio* before to *Damascus*, where the King's Treasure was kept.

C H A P. XIII.

P*Armenio* understanding that one of *Darius's* Lieutenants was gone before him, and apprehending that the small Number he had with him might appear contemptible to the Enemy, had resolv'd to send for a Reinforcement, but it happened that a certain *Mardian* fell into the Hands of his Scouts, who bringing him to *Parmenio*, deliver'd to him Letters from the Governor of *Damascus* to *Alexander*, telling him withal, that he did not doubt but the said Governor intended to deliver up to him all the King's Furniture and Money. *Parmenio* having set a Guard upon him, opens the Letter, in which was writ, That *Alexander* should send with Expedition one of his Generals with a small Body of Men. Upon this Information, *Parmenio* sent back the *Mardian*, with a small Guard to the Traitor. But he making his Escape, arriv'd at *Damascus* before Day. This made *Parmenio* somewhat uneasie, for he began to suspect some Ambuscade might be laid for him, and therefore was afraid to march without a Guide; however, confiding in the good Fortune of his Prince, he order'd some Peasants to be intercepted to serve him as Guides; and his Men having quickly found some, he reach'd the Town on the fourth Day, when the Governor began to think his Letter had not been credited. Wherefore pretending to distrust the
Strength

Strength of the Place, before the Sun was up, he order'd the King's Money and the most valuable Moveables, to be brought forth, pretending to fly, but in reality to deliver the Booty to the Enemy. He was accompany'd out of Town by a great many thousand Men and Women, a deplorable Spectacle to all the Spectators, except him to whose Care they were committed. For that he might be the better rewarded for his Treachery, he intended to deliver to the Enemy a more acceptable Booty than that of Money; *viz.* several Noblemen, with the Wives and Children of *Darius's* Governors. Besides these, there were the Ambassadors of the *Greek* Towns, all which *Darius* had put into his treacherous Tuition, as into a Place of Safety. The *Persians* call those who carry Burthens on their Shoulders, *Gangabæ*. These Men not being able to endure the Cold (for there had fallen a great deal of Snow, and besides it was a hard Frost) put on the rich Garments of Gold and Purple, with which they were loaded as well as with Money; no body daring to oppose their so doing, the King's hard Fate having render'd him contemptible even to the vilest Wretches. This Multitude seem'd at first to *Parmenio* to be no despicable Army; he therefore having made a short Speech to his Men to animate and encourage 'em, commanded 'em to *clap Spurs to their Horses, and to charge the Enemy vigorously*: But those that carry'd the Burthens, perceiving what was doing, flung down their Loads, and took to their Heels out of Fear. The Soldiers that follow'd 'em, being also intimidated, cast away their Arms and fled through the Bye-ways they were well acquainted with; the Governor himself counterfeiting Fear likewise, had caus'd a general Confusion. The King's Riches lay scatter'd up and down the Fields; *viz.* That Money that was to pay so
vast

vaſt an Army, with the rich Apparel of ſo many Noblemen and Women; Golden Veſſels, Gold Bridles, Tents adorn'd with Regal Magnificence, Chariots forſaken by their Drivers, loaded with infinite Riches; inſomuch that it was a diſmal Sight even to the Plunderers themſelves, if it was poſſible for any thing to ſtop the greedy Deſire of Wealth. Here was to be ſeen all that immense Treafure and rich Furniture (that had been heaping up in ſo long a Courſe of Proſperity, that almoſt exceeded all Belief) expoſ'd to be pillag'd, ſome things being torn from the Buſhes where they hung, others dug out of the Mire where they lay. There were not Hands enough for this inglorious Work. By this time thoſe that firſt fled, were overtaken, there were a great many Women among 'em, whereof ſome led their little Children by the Hand. Here were alſo three Maiden Ladies, the Daughters of *Ochus*, who had reign'd laſt before *Darius*, they had fallen from their Paternal Rank and Dignity by the former Change of Affairs; but now Fortune ſeem'd cruelly to aggravate their Calamity. In this Crowd there was, beſide the Wife of *Ochus*, and the Daughter of *Oxatres*, *Darius's* Brother, with the Wife of *Artabazus* (who was the firſt Nobleman of *Perſia*) and his Son nam'd *Ilioneus*. With theſe were alſo taken the Wife and Son of *Pharnabazus*, to whom *Darius* had given the chief Command of the Maritime Coaſt; *Mentor's* three Daughters, and the Wife and Son of that noble Captain, *Memnon*. In fine, there was hardly any noble Family that did not ſhare in the Miſfortune. Here were taken alſo, ſeveral *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians*, who contrary to the League with *Alexander*, had ſided with the *Perſians*: *Ariſtogiton*, *Dropides*, and *Iphicrates* were conſiderable People among the *Athenians* both for their Birth and Renown: *Pauſippus*,
Onomaſtorides,

Onomastorides, with *Monimus* and *Callicratides*, who were likewise considerable Men among the *Lacedemonians*. The Sum of coin'd Money that was taken, amounted to two thousand and sixty Talents; the wrought Silver was equal to five hundred Talents in Weight; besides all which, there were thirty thousand Men, and seven thousand Beast of Burthen taken. But the Gods quickly punish'd the Betrayer of so much Wealth; for one he had imparted the Matter to, retaining still a Veneration for *Darius*, even in his Calamity, cut off the *Traitor's* Head, and carry'd it to the *King*, as a seasonable Comfort to a Prince so foully betray'd; for he not only was reveng'd of his Enemy, but had moreover the Satisfaction to find that all his Subjects had not lost the Respect and Fidelity that was due to the Dignity of Majesty.





QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.



Darius, who but a little while since was at the Head of so powerful an Army, riding in his Chariot more after the manner of a Triumph, than of one that was going to give Battle to his *Enemy*, was now forced to a shameful Flight through those Places he had lately fill'd with his numerous Troops, but were now, by his Misfortune, become desolate and waste. Some few follow'd their *King*, for the broken *Army* did not all take one Road; and as the *King* chang'd Horses frequently, his Followers not having the same Advantages, could not keep pace with him. He first came to *Concha*, where he was receiv'd by four thousand *Greeks*, who guarded him to the *Euphrates*; for he look'd upon that only to be his now, that he could by his Expedition prevent the *Enemy's* seizing. In the mean time *Alexander* gave Orders to *Parmenio*, who had taken the Booty at *Damascus*, to place good Guard over it, as also upon the Prisoners, and made him Governor of *Syria*, which they call *Cœle*. But the *Syrians* could not at first brook the

the new Government, because they had not yet sufficiently felt the Scourge of the War; however, being suppress'd as fast as they revolted, they were glad at last to conform to its Orders.

Aradus, which is an Island, was about this time surrender'd to *Alexander*. *Strato*, who was King of that Island, had also the Sovereignty of the Maratim Coast, and a considerable Inland Territory.

Alexander having receiv'd his Submission, and taken him into his Protection, march'd his Army to *Marathon*. Here Letters were brought him from *Darius*, at which he was very much incens'd, they being writ in a very haughty Style: But what vext him most was, that *Darius* therein writ himself King, without giving *Alexander* that Title, and requir'd rather than desir'd, That he would restore to him his Mother, Wife and Children, promising for their Ransom as much Money as all Macedonia was worth; and as for the Empire, he would try for it again, if he pleas'd, in a fresh Action. At the same time he advis'd him, if he was still capable of wholesom Advice, to be contented with his own Dominions, and to retire from that Empire he had no right to; and from being an Enemy, to become a Friend and Ally, he being ready both to give and receive any Engagements on that Account. To this Letter *Alexander* made answer much after this manner: *Alexander* King, to *Darius*; That Prince whose Name you have taken, having committed great Hostilities on those Greeks, who inhabit the Coast of the Hellespont, and also on the Ionian Colonies, who are also Greeks, put to Sea with a powerful Fleet and Army, and invaded Macedonia and Greece. After him *Xerxes*, who was a Prince of the same Family, attack'd us with an infinite Number of Barbarians; and notwithstanding he was beaten at Sea, yet he left *Mardonius* in Greece, to pillage the Cities in his absence,

absence, and burn the Country : Besides all which, who does not know that my Father Philip was inhumanely murder'd by those you had basely corrupted with your Money? You make no scruple to enter upon unjust Wars, and altho' you do not want Arms, you unworthily set a price upon the Heads of your Enemies, your self having given a late Instance of that, in offering a thousand Talents to him that would murder me, tho' you had so mighty an Army at command. It is plain therefore, that I am not the Aggressor, but repel Force by Force ; and the Gods, who always side with the just Cause, have already made me Master of great part of Asia, and given me a signal Victory over you your self. However, tho' you have no reason to expect any Favour at my Hands (since you have not so much as observ'd the Laws of War towards me,) yet if you come to me in a suppliant manner, I promise you, you shall receive your Mother, Wife and Children without any Ransom at all. I know how to conquer, and how to use the conquer'd. If you are afraid to venture your Person with me, I am ready to give you Securities, for your doing it with Safety : But I would have you remember for the future, when you write to me, that you do not only write to a King, but also to your own King. Thersippus was charg'd with this Letter. After this he descended into Phœnicia, where the City of Biblos was surrendred to him, from whence he march'd to Sydon, a City famous for its Antiquity, and the Splendour of its Founders. Strato was King there, and had receiv'd Succours from Darius ; but because the Town had been surrendred to him, more by the Agreement of the Inhabitants than by Strato's own Consent, Alexander judging him unworthy of the Crown, gave leave to Hephestion to bestow the Crown on him, that the Sydonians should think most worthy of that Honour. Hephestion was lodg'd with

with two young Noblemen of considerable Note, among the *Sydonians*, he therefore offer'd them the Kingdom, but they refus'd it, telling him that it was contrary to the Laws of the Country, *to admit of any one to that Dignity, that was not of the Royal Family.* Hereupon *Hephestion*, admiring their Greatness of Soul, which made 'em slight what others covet at any price of Danger, encouraged 'em *to persist in that vertuous Disposition, since they were the first that understood how much greater it was to despise a Kingdom than to accept of it.* However, he desir'd 'em *to Name one of the Royal Race, who might remember he receiv'd that Dignity at their Hands.*

They seeing a great many made Interest for the obtaining that distinguishing Rank, courting the Favour of *Alexander's* Friends, in hopes to obtain it, declar'd, *That none deserv'd it better than Abdolominus, who, tho' remotely of kin to the Royal Family, was reduc'd thro' Poverty, to cultivate a Garden for a small Stipend in the Suburbs of the City.* His *Virtue* and *Probity* were the cause of his Poverty, as it happens to many; and as he kept close to his daily Labour, he was out of the noise of Arms, which at that time shook all *Asia*: But on the sudden the two Gentlemen before-mentioned enter'd the Garden, with the royal Apparel, where they found *Abdolominus* pulling up the Weeds and useless Plants. When they had saluted him King, one of 'em told him, *he must make an exchange of his mean Apparel, for those royal Robes he beheld in his Hands; and therefore bid him wash his Body that was cover'd with Dirt and Filth, and take up a Kingly Spirit, and advance his Continency and Moderation, to that high Fortune he was worthy of; and when he should be seated in the Royal Throne, and had in his Power the Life and Death of his Citizens, not to forget the Condition he was*

*in when the Crown was conferr'd upon him ; nay, in Truth, for which he was chosen King. This Discourse appear'd to Abdolominus like a Dream, and he would now and then ask 'em, If they were in their Senses to ridicule him after so odd a manner ? But as he was slow in complying, they caus'd him to be wash'd, and having cloth'd him with a purple Garment, interwoven with Gold, and by their Oaths satisfy'd him they were serious, and that he was really pitch'd upon to be King, he accompanied them to the Palace. The Rumour of what was done (as it usually happens) soon spread it self over the Town, and some were pleas'd with it, while others were incens'd. The Rich represented to Alexander's Friends his mean Condition and Poverty. Wherefore the King order'd him to be brought before him : And having view'd him well, he said his Person did not disagree with the account of his Extraction, but he desir'd him to inform him how he had born his Poverty ? To which he reply'd, *Would to God I may be able to bear the weight of the Crown with the same Tranquillity of Mind ; for these Hands of mine have sufficiently supply'd my Wants, and as I had nothing, so I wanted nothing.* The King taking this Answer as a Token of a noble Disposition, not only commanded *Strato's royal Furniture to be deliver'd to him*, but also presented him *with a considerable part of the Persian Booty*, adding the adjacent Territory to his Jurisdiction. In the mean time *Amyntas* (who we said before had left *Alexander*, and was fled to the *Persians*,) was come to *Tripolis* with four thousand *Greeks* who had follow'd him, after the last Battle, there having shipp'd off his Soldiers, he sail'd to *Cyprus* ; and as every one thought at that Juncture of time that whatever he could get Possession of, would be his own of Right, he resolv'd to go to *Egypt* : At this time an Enemy to both Kings, resolving to*

to conform himself to the mutability of the Times, making therefore a Speech to his Soldiers, he gave 'em mighty hopes of succeeding in so great an Attempt, and reminded 'em *that Sabaces, who was Governor of Egypt, was kill'd in the Battle, that the Persian Forces were without a Leader, and were but few in Number ; and that the Egyptians, who were always dissatisfy'd with their Governors, would look upon 'em rather to be their Friends than their Enemies.*

Necessity put him upon trying all things, for as he had been disappointed of his first Hopes, he look'd upon the future to be preferable to the present : Hereupon the Soldiers unaniously agree to follow him wherever he should lead 'em ; and he thinking it prudence not to give 'em time to alter their Minds, brought 'em into the Haven of *Pelusium*, pretending he was sent thither before by *Darius*. Having got Possession of *Pelusium*, he advanc'd to *Memphis* : The Rumour of his Arrival being spread up and down, the *Egyptians*, out of their natural Levity, which makes them fitter for Innovations, than for any considerable Performances, came out of their Towns and Villages with a design to assist him to destroy the *Persian* Garrisons ; who notwithstanding they were alarm'd at the suddenness of the Enterprize, did not cast away all hopes of maintaining their Ground : But *Amyntas* having got the better of 'em in a set Battle, drove them into the Town, and having pitch'd his Camp, he led his victorious Army out to pillage and destroy the Country ; and as if every thing now lay at his Mercy, he ravag'd whatever belong'd to the Enemy. Wherefore *Maxaces*, notwithstanding he knew his Men were dishearten'd by their late Overthrow, represented to 'em, *that the Enemy was dispers'd up and down, being altogether careless on the Account of their late Victory,*

Victory, and that they might with ease recover what they had lost.

This Counsel was no less prudent in its Reason, than happy in the Event, for they kill'd 'em every Man, their Leader perishing among the rest: Thus *Amyntas* was punish'd for his Treachery to both Kings, for he prov'd as false to him he went over to, as to him he had deserted. *Darius's* Lieutenants that had surviv'd the Action at *Issus*, having got together the scatter'd Forces that had fled with 'em, and rais'd what Men they could in *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia*, resolv'd to try to recover the Country of *Lydia*. *Antigonus* was Governor there for *Alexander*, who notwithstanding he had sent the greatest part of his Garrisons to strengthen the King's Army, yet despising the *Barbarians*, he drew out his Men, and gave 'em Battle.

Here *Fortune* shew'd herself constant to *Alexander's* Side, for the *Persians* were routed in three Engagements fought in three several Provinces. About this time the *Macedonian* Fleet sailing from *Greece* overcame *Aristomenes*, whom *Darius* had sent to recover the Coast of the *Hellepont*, and either took or sunk all his Ships on the other side. *Pharnabazus*, Admiral of the *Persian* Fleet, having forc'd the *Milesians* to pay a considerable Sum of Money, and put a Garrison into *Chius*, sail'd with a hundred Ships to *Andros*, and from thence to *Syphnus*, leaving a Garrison also in those Islands, and exacting a Sum of Money from 'em by way of Punishment. The great War between the two most powerful Princes of *Europe* and *Asia*, in hopes of an universal Empire, had likewise put *Greece* and *Crete* in Arms; for *Agis*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, having got together eight thousand *Greeks*, who were return'd Home, having made their escape from *Cilicia*, march'd against *Antipater*, Governor of *Macedonia*. The *Cretans*,

tans, according as they chang'd their Sides, were sometimes garrison'd by *Spartans*, and sometimes by *Macedonians*: But these were but trifling Quarrels, and hardly worth Fortune's Concern, who seem'd wholly taken up with that War on which all the rest depended.

C H A P. II.

TH E *Macedonians* had already made themselves Masters of all *Syria*, and of all *Phœnicia*, excepting *Tyre*, and the King was encamp'd upon the Continent, from which the Town is separated by a narrow Sea. *Tyre* is the most considerable City of either *Syria* or *Phœnicia*, both for its largeness as well as Fame, and therefore expected rather to be admitted into *Alexander's* Friendship as an Ally, than to become subject to his Empire. On this Account they sent him a Present of a Gold Crown, and a large quantity of Provisions for his Army; all which the King graciously accepted of as from Friends: Then turning to the *Ambassadors*, he told 'em he intended to Sacrifice to *Hercules*, who is in great Veneration with the *Tyrians*; that the Kings of *Macedon* look'd upon themselves to be descended from that God; and that he was moreover advis'd by the Oracle to acquit himself of that Devotion. To this the *Ambassadors* answer'd, That there was a Temple dedicated to *Hercules* without the Town, in a Place call'd the *Paletyron*, where the King, if he pleas'd, might discharge that Duty. This answer so inflam'd *Alexander*, who could not command his Passion, that he spoke to 'em in this manner, *I perceive that because you live in an Island, you trust so much to the Situation of your City, that you despise my*
Land

Land Army, but in a little time I'll make you know you are on the Continent; and therefore know, that I'll either be admitted into the Town, or I'll take it by force.

As they were returning with this Answer, some of the King's Friends endeavour'd to persuade 'em not to deny the King entrance into their City, since the whole Province of Syria and Phœnicia had submitted to him. But they relying on the strength of the Place, resolv'd to endure the Siege; for the Town was divided from the Continent by a narrow Sea of about four Furlongs in breadth, which is much expos'd to the South-west Wind, which when it rag'd, beat the Waves so violently against the Shore, that the *Macedonians* could not carry on their Work of Communication between the Continent and the Island. Nay, they had much ado to work when the Sea was calm; but when it is disturb'd by this Wind, whatever is cast into it is carry'd away by the violent Motion of the Waves: Nor could there be any Foundation laid so strong but the Waters would eat their Way through the Joints of the Work, and when the Wind was high it would carry the Waters above the highest part. Besides this Difficulty, there was another of no less Consequence, *viz.* the Walls and Towers of the Town were surrounded with a very deep Sea, so that they could not plant any battering Engines against 'em, but upon Ships at a great distance, and it was impossible to apply Ladders to the Walls. Now *Alexander* had no Shipping, and if he had had any, they might easily have been kept off by Darts from the Town; besides, the Waters keeping them in a continual Motion, would have made their Machines ineffectual. Besides all which, there was an Accident, which, tho' but inconsiderable in its self, yet serv'd to encourage the *Tyrians*.

Ambassadors were come from the *Carthaginians* to offer their annual Sacrifice to *Hercules*, according to the Custom of the Country; for the *Tyrians* having founded *Carthage* were in great Esteem with the *Carthaginians*, who respected 'em as their Parents. These *Ambassadors* exhorted 'em *to undergo the Siege with Courage, and they should in a little time receive Succour from Carthage*; for at that time the *Carthaginians* were very powerful at Sea. Having therefore resolv'd upon a War, they dispose their Engines on their Walls and Towers, distribute Arms to their Youth, and fill their Work-houses with Artificers, with which the City abounded. In fine, the whole Town was taken up with the Preparations for the War: They provided themselves with grappling Irons, Crows, and other Inventions for the defence of Towns; but when the Iron was put into the Forge, as they were blowing the Fire they perceiv'd little Streams of Blood under the Flames, which the *Tyrians* interpreted 'as an ill Omen to the *Macedonians*; and it happen'd that one of *Alexander's* Soldiers, in the breaking of his Bread, observ'd drops of Blood to rise out of it. The *King* being somewhat alarm'd at this Accident, consulted *Aristander* (who was the most skilful of all the Soothsayers) about the meaning of it, who told him, *That if the Blood had flown from without, it would have portended Evil to the Macedonians, but as it proceeded from the inward Parts, it prognosticated Mischief to the City he was going to besiege*. As *Alexander's* Fleet was at a great distance, and that the long Siege would be detrimental to his other Designs, he sent *Heralds* to them to invite 'em to peaceful Terms; but the *Tyrians*, contrary to the Law of Nations, cast 'em headlong into the Sea. This foul Usage so exasperated the *King* that he resolv'd upon the Siege, but

but he was first of all oblig'd to make a Peer, to join the Continent and the Town. Hereupon the Soldiers *were seiz'd with the utmost Despair, seeing the Sea was so very deep that they look'd upon it to be impossible for 'em, even with the Divine Assistance to fill it up ; where should they find Stones large enough, or Trees tall enough for so prodigious a Work?* Since whole Countries would hardly afford enough for the Purpose ; the narrowness of the Strait making the Sea always rough , and the closer it was confin'd the more it rag'd. However, the King, who was not now to learn how to manage the Soldiers Minds, assur'd them, *That Hercules had appear'd to him in a Dream, and taking him by the Hand seem'd to conduct him into the City.* At the same time he remind'd 'em *of the barbarous Usage to his Heralds, of the Violation of the Law of Nations, and that it was a shame the course of their Victories should be stopp'd by a single Town.* There was great Plenty of Stones at hand, in the Ruins of the old Town, and Mount *Libanus* supply'd 'em with Materials for their Boats and Towers. The Work was already swell'd to the bulk of a Mountain from the bottom of the Sea, but yet it did not reach the Surface of the Water, and the farther it advanc'd from the Shore into the Sea, the easier whatever was cast therein, was swallow'd up by the deep Abyfs. While the *Macedonians* were thus employ'd, the *Tyrians* came out in their Boats, and in a scoffing manner upbraided 'em *with carrying Burdens on their Backs like Beasts, they who were such mighty Warriors :* They also ask'd 'em, *Whether Alexander was greater than Neptune?* These Insults serv'd very much to animate the Soldiers. By this time the Work began to shew it self above the Water, and to increase in breadth, drawing nearer to the Town.

When the *Tyrians* beheld the Bulk of the Peer, (which the Sea had hinder'd 'em before from observing how it encreas'd) they came out in little Boats, and row'd round the Work (which was not join'd to the Island) attacking with their Darts those that guarded it. And as they wounded several without a Return, (they being able to advance or retire as they pleas'd) the *Macedonians* were forc'd to interrupt the Work for some time to defend themselves. The King therefore caus'd Skins and Sails to be stretch'd out before the Workmen to protect 'em from the Darts, and rais'd two Towers at the Head of the Peer, from whence the *Macedonians* might with ease annoy with their Darts, those of the Enemy that pass'd under in Boats. On the other side the *Tyrians* having landed some of their Soldiers at a considerable distance, so as not to be perceiv'd by the *Macedonians*, fell upon those that were fetching Stones, and cut 'em to Pieces. And on Mount *Libanus* the *Arabian* Peasants attack'd the dispers'd *Macedonians* and kill'd about thirty of 'em, taking also some of 'em Prisoners.

C H A P. III.

THIS made *Alexander* divide his Army, and that he might not be thought to lie idle before a single City, he committed the Siege to *Perdiccas* and *Craterus*, and march'd himself with a flying Camp into *Arabia*. In the mean time the *Tyrians* fitted out a very large Ship, and loaded it to the Sternward with Stones and Gravel, and thereby rais'd the Stem of it very high, and having besmear'd it with a great Quantity of Pitch and Brimstone, they row'd it along, and its large Sails

Sails gathering a great deal of Wind, they soon work'd it up to the *Peer*. They that were on Board, having set Fire to the Forecastle, leap'd into little Boats that follow'd for that Purpose. The Ship thus on Fire, quickly communicated its Flames, which before any Help could be brought, had took hold of the Towers and other Works at the Head of the Bank; and they who were in the little Boats, ply'd the Works with burning Torches, and other combustible Materials, proper to feed the Conflagration: the Fire had already gain'd the very Top of the Towers, where some of the *Macedonians* perish'd in the Flames, while others flinging away their Arms, cast themselves into the Sea: But the *Tyrians*, who chose rather to take 'em alive than to kill them, having lam'd their Hands with Sticks and Stones so as altogether to disable 'em, took them into their Boats with Safety. The Works were not only consum'd by the Fire, but the Wind happening to be high that day, put the Sea into so great a Ferment, that the Waves beating furiously upon the *Peer*, and having loosened the Joynts of the Work, the Water forc'd its way through the middle of the *Peer*. When the Stones on which the Earth was cast, were wash'd away, the whole Structure sunk into the Deep, so that *Alexander* at his Return from *Arabia* hardly found any Footsteps left of so vast a Pile. Here, as it is usual in Disappointments, one cast the Fault upon the other; when they might all with more reason have fix'd it on the Tempestuousness of the Sea. The *King* therefore giving Directions for a new *Peer*, order'd that the Front of it should be carry'd on against the Wind, whereas the side of the old one lay expos'd to it: this was done, that the other Works, lying as it were under the Shelter of the Forepart, might be secur'd thereby. He also augmented the Breadth

of it that the Towers being built in the middle might be less subject to the Enemies Darts. Whole Trees, with their Arms and Branches were cast into the Sea, upon which they flung great Heaps of Stones, these were cover'd with a new Course of Trees, which they cover'd again with Earth, till by successive Lays of Trees, Stones and Earth, the whole Work became one solid Body. The *Tyrians* at the same time omitted nothing that Ingenuity could invent to render the *Macedonians* Labour ineffectual. The greatest Help they receiv'd was from their Divers, who entering the Waters out of the Enemies Sight, swam down unperceiv'd to the very Peer, and with hooks dragg'd after them the Branches that stuck out of the Stones which drew along with 'em the other Materials into the Deep. The Trunk of their Trees being thus discharg'd of their Load, were easily remov'd; so that the Foundation falling, the whole Superstructure follow'd. While *Alexander* was thus perplex'd in Mind, and deliberating with himself whether he should continue the Siege, or be gone, his Fleet opportunely arriv'd from *Cyprus*; and at the same time *Cleander* with fresh Recruits from *Greece*. The King divided his Fleet, which consisted of one hundred and eighty Ships, into two Squadrons; the one was commanded by *Pythagoras* King of *Cyprus*, and *Craterus*; the other he commanded himself in the Royal Galley. But altho' the *Tyrians* had a Fleet, yet they did not dare to venture a Sea Fight with *Alexander*; and therefore they plac'd all their Gallies under their Walls. However the King attack'd 'em there, and sunk 'em. The next Day *Alexander* brought his whole Fleet up to the Walls, which he batter'd on all Sides with his Engines, but chiefly with those they call *Rams*. The *Tyrians*, on their part were very diligent in repairing the Damage,

Damage, and began to build a new Wall within the old one, that in case this fell they might still have that for their Defence. But they were now press'd on all Sides; for the Peer was advanc'd within the Cast of a Dart, and the Fleet furround-ed the Walls; so that they were annoy'd both from the Sea and Land at the same time. More-over the *Macedonians* had fasten'd their Galleys two and two, Stern to Stern; so that their Sterns were as far distant from each other as the Interval would permit. This Interval between Stern and Stern was made good with Sail-yards and Planks laid across and fasten'd together, and over these, Bridges were laid for the Soldiers to stand upon. In this Order they were tow'd to the City; and the Soldiers, from these Bridges, ply'd the Besieged with their Darts, they themselves being out of Danger, by reason the Sterns cover'd them. It was Midnight when the King commanded the Fleet to surround the Town in the order we before describ'd; and when the *Tyrians* saw the Ship draw near the City on all Sides, their Hearts began to fail 'em: But on the sudden the Sky was overcast with thick Clouds which presently intercepted the little Light that appear'd about that time: Then the Sea by degrees became more horrible and began to work high, and the Wind still encreasing, the Waves swell'd prodigiously, dashing the Ships one against another. The Violence of the Tempest was such, that the Bands that fasten'd the Galleys were broke, the Scaffolds and Bridges fell with a dreadful Noise and drew the Soldiers along with 'em into the Deep: and the Ships that were ty'd together were not to be govern'd in so high a Sea. The Soldiers were a Hindrance to the Seamen, and the Seamen disturb'd the Soldiers in their Duty: and as it frequently happens in such Cases, the skilful were

forc'd to obey the ignorant. For the Pilots, who at other Times were us'd to command, being threaten'd with Death, obey'd the Orders of others. At length the Sea, as if overcome by the Obstinacy of the Rowers, resign'd the Ships, as to some parting Signal; and they reach'd the Shore altho' most of 'em much shatter'd. About this time there came thirty Ambassadors from *Carthage*, being rather a Comfort than a Help to the besieged; for they gave 'em to understand, *that the Carthaginians were themselves so engag'd in War, that they did not now fight for Empire, but for Safety.* The *Syracusans* were at this time destroying *Africa* with Fire and Sword; and were encamp'd not far from the Walls of *Carthage*. The *Tyrians* however were not discouraged, tho' disappointed, of so considerable an Expectation; but delivering their Wives and Children to these Ambassadors to be transported to *Carthage*, resolv'd to bear whatever happen'd with the greater Fortitude, since they had the Satisfaction to have secur'd what was most dear to 'em, from sharing in the common Danger. At this very Juncture one of the *Citizens* declar'd to the Assembly, *That Apollo, whom the Tyrians had a great Veneration for, had appear'd to him in his Sleep, as if he was going to leave the Town, and that the Peer the Macedonians had made, seem'd to him to be chang'd into a Wood.* Hereupon tho' the *Author* was not in great Credit amongst 'em, yet as they were inclin'd to believe the worst, out of fear, they bound the *Image* with a Golden Chain and fasten'd it to the Altar of *Hercules*, to whom their Town was dedicated; as if they thought by his superior Power, to retain *Apollo* against his Will. The *Carthaginians* had brought this *Image* from *Syracuse*, and had plac'd it here as being their Original Country; for they were us'd to adorn

Tyre

Tyre as well as *Carthage* with the Spoils they took from other Towns: And at this time would fain have persuaded them to renew a Sacrifice, that I can not believe to be at all acceptable to the Gods; and that the *Tyrians* had laid aside for several Ages, viz. to offer up to Saturn a free-born Child: which Sacrilege rather than Sacrifice the *Carthaginians* had receiv'd from their Founders, and are said to have observ'd it till their City was destroy'd. Now had not the Elders (by whose Directions all things were manag'd) oppos'd this barbarous Superstition, it would in all Likelihood have got the better of *Humanity*. However their pressing Necessity, which is more efficaciously ingenious than Art, made them not only put in practice the usual Methods of Defence, but inspir'd 'em also with new ones: For, to annoy the Ships that approach'd the Walls, they contriv'd long Rafter, to which they fasten'd Crows, Grappling Irons, Hooks and Scythes, which they discharg'd from their Engines, letting go the Ropes to which they were fasten'd, that they might recover 'em again. These Hooks and Scythes tore to Pieces the Men, and very much damag'd the Ships. They had, besides, another Contrivance; they heated Brass Bucklers as hot as Fire could make 'em, and then fill'd 'em with burning Sand, and boiling Mud, which they pour'd down from the Walls upon the *Macedonians*. None of their Machines were more terrible than this; for if the burning Sand got between the Armour and the Body, as it was impossible to shake it off, it fail'd not to burn whatever it touch'd; so that flinging down their Arms, and tearing every thing off that was to protect their Bodies, they lay expos'd to all manner of Mischief without being able to do any.

C H A P. IV.

BY this time the *King* was so tir'd with the tediousness of the Siege, that he resolv'd to raise it, and carry his Arms into *Ægypt*. For tho' he had, with incredible Celerity, run over *Asia*, the Walls of one single Town now stop'd his Progress, and hinder'd him from making use of the Opportunity he had, of executing his great Designs on the other side: He was no less ashamed of going away without carrying his Point than of being so long about it. Moreover he consider'd his Reputation would suffer (by which he had done more, than by his Arms) if he left *Tyre* as a Witness that he was to be overcome: Therefore, that he might leave no means untry'd, he resolv'd to make his last Effort with a greater Number of Ships, and the choicest of his Troops on Board. At this time it happen'd that a *Whale* of an unusual Size, (for its Back appear'd above the Water) came and laid it self by the *Peer* side; where having beat the Waves for some time, it rais'd it self so as to be conspicuous to both Parties. After this it plung'd again into the Sea near the Head of the *Peer*, and sometimes shewing it self above the Waves, sometimes hiding itself in the Deep, it shew'd itself for the last time not far from the Walls of the City. Both Sides interpreted the Sight of this Monster in favour of their respective Interest. The *Macedonians* conjectur'd, that the *Whale* pointed to 'em, which way they ought to carry on their Work: And the *Tyrians* concluded, that *Neptune* had pitch'd upon it, as an Instance of his Right over the usurp'd Sea, and that the new erected *Fabrick* would in a little time fall to Ruin. Possessed with this Opinion they fell

to feasting, and loaded themselves with Wine. And at Sun-rise they mann'd out their Ships, which they had adorned with Garlands and Flowers, not only presuming the Victory to be certain, but also rejoicing beforehand for it. It happen'd that the *King* had order'd his Fleet to a contrary Part of the Town, and left but thirty of the smallest Rate upon the Shore, two whereof were presently taken by the *Tyrians*, and the rest were in great Danger; till *Alexander* being alarm'd at the Outcry of his Men, came with the Fleet to their Assistance: The first of the *Macedonian* Galleys that came up, was a Cinquereme, which was the swiftest Sailer in the Fleet. As soon as the *Tyrians* perceiv'd it, they came against it with two others, one on each side. The Cinquereme, plying all its Oars to encounter one of 'em, receiv'd a rude Shock from the Beak of its Adversary, yet grappled with her so as to hold her fast. The other being at liberty, was just ready to attack her on the contrary side, when one of *Alexander's* Galleys came very seasonably to her Relief, and was drove so violently against her Enemy that she struck the Pilot of the *Tyrian* Galley from his Post at Stern into the Sea. By this time several others of the *Macedonian* Ships were come up, as also the *King* in Person, which made the *Tyrians* use their utmost Effort to set their entangled Galley at liberty; which having, tho' with Difficulty, compass'd, they made to their Haven with all their Fleet. *Alexander* immediately pursu'd them, but could not get into the Haven, by reason of the Darts with which they ply'd him from the Walls of the City. However he either sunk or took most of their Ships. Then he granted two Days rest to his Soldiers, after which he advanc'd with all his Ships and Machines, that he might from both attack the Enemy that was already

in a great Consternation. The *King* on this Occasion, plac'd himself on the Top of a high Tower, with a great deal of Bravery, but yet greater Danger : For as he was remarkable by his Royal Apparel, and the Brightness of his Arms, they chiefly aim'd at him. Here he behav'd himself with all the Gallantry imaginable ; for he kill'd several upon the Wall, with his Pike, others in a closer Engagement, with his Sword and Buckler, he cast headlong into the Sea : For the Tower from which he fought, almost join'd to the Enemies Walls. The battering Rams had now by their repeated Strokes, beat down great Part of the Fortifications of the Place, the Fleet had enter'd the Port, and some of the *Macedonians* had taken Possession of some of the Towers that the Enemy had deserted ; when the *Tyrians*, sinking under the Weight of so many ill Accidents at once, betake themselves some to the Sanctuary of the Temples, others making fast their Doors, chuse their own way of dying : Some again fell furiously upon the *Macedonians*, resolving not to die unreveng'd. But the greatest Part got up to the Tops of the Houses, and from thence flung Stones, or whatever came next to their Hands, upon the Enemy in the Streets. *Alexander* gave Orders to spare none but those who had taken Refuge in the Temples, and to set Fire to the Town. And notwithstanding Proclamation was made accordingly ; yet none that could bear Arms, thought fit to seek for Succour from the Gods. The Children of both Sexes, with the young Maidens, fill'd the Churches, and the Men stood at the Entry of their own Houses, ready to fall a Sacrifice to the Soldiers Fury. However, a great many were sav'd by the *Sidonians* that serv'd in *Alexander's* Army. These having enter'd the Town with the rest of the *Macedonian* Forces, and remembering their Relation with the

Tyrians

Tyrians (for *Agenor*, as they believ'd, founded both Cities) protected a great many of the Town's People, carrying them on board their Ships, and transported 'em to *Sydon*. There were sav'd by this means, about fifteen Thousand. How much Blood was spilt may be guess'd at from this, that six thousand were found slain within the City Walls. Notwithstanding all this, the King's Anger was not satisfy'd, so that he commanded two thousand of the Enemy that had surviv'd the Soldier's Rage (they being weary with killing) to be crucify'd along the Sea Coast: A sad Spectacle even to the Conquerors themselves! He spar'd the *Ambassadors* of the *Carthaginians*, but declar'd War against 'em, tho' he could not prosecute it immediately, by reason of his other more pressing Affairs. *Tyre* was taken the seventh Month, after it was besieg'd, a Town famous to Posterity both for the Antiquity of its Origine, and for its frequent Variety of *Fortune*. It was built by *Agenor*, and held a considerable Time the Sovereignty, not only of the neighbouring Sea, but also of all the Seas wherever its Fleets came. And if we may believe Report, this People was the first that either taught or learn'd Letters. It had planted Colonies almost all over the World; *Carthage* in *Africk*, *Thebes* in *Bæotia*, and *Gades* upon the Ocean. For my part, I am apt to believe, that as the *Tyrians* were Masters at Sea, and often visited Countries unknown to other People, they made choice of such and such Seats for their Youth with which they abounded; or else (for this is also said) that the Island being mightily subject to Earthquakes, the *Inhabitants* (tir'd therewith) were forc'd to settle themselves in other Habitations by dint of Arms. Be it as it will, having undergone many Casualties, and as it were, reviving after being raz'd, by the Help of a long Peace, which makes every thing flourish

flourish, it now enjoys a profound Ease under the Protection of the *Roman Clemency*.

C H A P. V.

ABOUT this time, *Alexander* receiv'd Letters from *Darius*, wherein he gives him at last, the Title of King, and desir'd he would accept of his Daughter *Statyra* for Wife, offering him with her, all that Tract of Ground that lies between the *Hellespont* and the River *Halys*; and that he himself would be contented with those Countries that lie Eastward from thence. That if he found any Difficulty to accept of this his Offer, he wish'd him to reflect, That Fortune seldom made any long Stay any where; and that the greater Felicity Men enjoy'd, the more were they also envy'd. That it was to be fear'd, lest by his juvenile Disposition of Mind, he should be elated with Vanity, on the Account of his Success; after the manner of Birds, whose natural Lightness carry'd 'em up to the Skies. That nothing was more difficult, than at his Age to be capable of so great a Fortune. That as for his own part, he still had a great deal left, and should not always be surpriz'd in Streights: That *Alexander* would find himself oblig'd to pass the *Euphrates*, the *Tygre*, the *Araxes*, and the *Hydaspes*, which were like so many Bulwarks to his Dominions: That in the large Plains he must come into, he would be asham'd of his small Number. When would he be able to reach *Media*, *Hycarnia*, *Bactra*, and the *Indians* that border upon the Ocean? Or the *Sogdians* and *Araschosi*ans, who are hardly so much as known but by their Name, with the other Nations that dwell along *Mount Caucasus*, or the River *Tanais*? That were he but barely to travel over these vast Countries

Countries without any Opposition at all, he would find himself become old before he could perform the Journey. That it was his best way not to stand upon his coming to him, since whenever he came, it should be to his Ruine. To which Letter Alexander made the following Answer by those that brought it: That Darius promis'd him what was now none of his own: That he offer'd to divide that which he had already entirely lost. That Lydia, Ionia, Æolia, and the Coast of the Hellespont, were actually in his Possession by the Law of Arms; That it belong'd to the Victorious to prescribe Conditions, and to the Vanquish'd to receive 'em. If he was alone ignorant which of these States he was in at present, he might as soon as he pleas'd, be made sensible thereof by another Battle. That when he pass'd the Sea, he did not propose to himself Cilicia, or Lydia (which he look'd upon as an inconsiderable Reward for so great a War) but that Persepolis, the Capital of his Empire, with Bactra, and Ecbatana, and the utmost Bounds of the East, were what he design'd to submit to his Power. That whithersoever he could fly, he could also follow; and that having pass'd the Sea, he was not to be frighten'd with Rivers. Thus the Kings writ to one another. In the mean time the Rhodians surrender'd their City and Port to Alexander. The King conferr'd the Government of Cilicia on Socrates, and that of the Country about Tyre to Philotas. As for Syria, that they call Cæle, Parmenio had resign'd it to Andromachus, that he might attend the King in the remaining part of the War. Alexander having order'd Hephestion to coast along Phœnicia with the Fleet, came with his whole Army to the City of Gaza. Now was the Time of celebrating the Isthmian Games, which are us'd to be perform'd by the Concourse of all Greece. As the Greeks are naturally Time-servers, it was agreed in this Assembly

bly, to depute twelve Persons to the *King*, to present *him* with a Gold Crown, as an Acknowledgement of his glorious Victories, and of the great Things *he* had done for the Liberty and Safety of *Greece*. Yet a little before, they were very inquisitive about the Success of the War, their wavering Minds being ready to strike in with which soever side *Fortune* should favour. However, not only the *King* was employ'd in reducing those Towns that refus'd to submit to his Authority, but his Deputies also (who were great Captains) made several Conquests. *Calas* subdu'd *Paphlagonia*; *Antigonus*, *Lycaonia*; and *Balacrus* having defeated *Idarnes*, *Darius's* Lieutenant, took *Miletum*; *Amphoterus* and *Hegelochus*, with a Fleet of a hundred and sixty Ships, brought all the Islands between *Achaia* and *Asia*, under *Alexander's* Obedience. They took Possession also of *Tenedos*, by the voluntary Submission of the Inhabitants. They had a Design to possess themselves of *Chios*, in the same manner: But *Pharnabazus Darius's* Admiral, having seiz'd those who favour'd the *Macedonian* Faction, put the Government of the Town into the Hands of *Apollonides* and *Athanagoras* (who were in the *Persian* Interest) leaving them a small Garrison for the Defence of it. Notwithstanding this Disappointment, *Alexander's* Lieutenants continu'd the Siege of the Place, not relying so much on their own Strength, as on the Disposition of the besieged. Neither were they deceiv'd in their Opinion; for a Dispute arising between *Apollonides*, and the chief Officers that commanded the Garrison, gave the Enemy an Opportunity of breaking into the Town. A Company of *Macedonians* having therefore forc'd one of the Gates, the Inhabitants pursuant to the Measures before concerted for the Surrender of the Place, join'd themselves to *Amphoterus* and *Hegelochus*,
and

and having put the *Persian* Garrison to the Sword, deliver'd up *Pharnabazus* with *Apollonides*, and *Athanagoras* bound, to the *Macedonians*. There were twelve Gallies taken with all their Crew and Marines, besides thirty Ships and Barks belonging to Pyrates, with three thousand *Greeks* that were in the *Persian* Pay. The *Greeks* serv'd to recruit the *Macedonian* Forces, the Pyrates were put to Death, and the captive Powers were distributed among the Fleet. It happen'd that *Aristonicus* (who had a tyrannical Power in *Methymna*) being ignorant of what had pass'd at *Chios*, came with some Pyrates to the Mouth of the Haven, which was secur'd with a Boom, it being then about the first Watch, and being ask'd by the Guard, *Who he was?* He said, *he was Aristonicus, and came to the Assistance of Pharnabazus.* The Guard made Answer; *That Pharnabazus was taking his Rest, and could not then be spoke with; however, as he was a Friend and Ally, he should have Admittance into the Port, and the next Day be introduc'd to Pharnabazus.* *Aristonicus* hereupon without Hesitation, enter'd the Haven, follow'd by about ten Pyrates, but as they were making to the Key, the Guard shut up the Haven as before, and having call'd to their Assistance the whole Corps, they took *Aristonicus* and all that were with him Prisoners, without their making the least Resistance. And having put Chains upon them, deliver'd 'em up to *Amphoterus* and *Hegelochus*. From hence the *Macedonians* pass'd to *Mitylene*, which *Chares* the *Athenian* had lately possess'd himself of, having with him a Garrison of about two thousand *Persians*; but finding himself too weak to hold out a Siege, he surrender'd the Place, upon Condition to retire whither he pleas'd: So he went to *Imbrus*; and the *Macedonians* gave Quarter to the Garrison.

C H A P. VI.

DARIUS despairing of Peace, which he thought he should have obtain'd by his Letters and Ambassadors, was now wholly intent on recruiting his Forces, in order to renew the War with Vigor. He therefore summon'd all his Generals to meet at *Babylon*; but he in particular commanded *Bessus*, Governor of the *Bactrians*, to get together as powerful an Army as he could, and to come and join him. These *Bactrians* are the most warlike People of all those Nations, being of a barbarous Disposition, and not at all inclin'd to the *Persian* Luxury. And as they border upon the *Scythians*, who are also a martial People, and accustomed to live by Plunder, they were constantly in Arms. But *Bessus* was suspected to be perfidiously inclin'd, and by his Haughtiness (which made him dissatisfy'd with the second Rank) gave *Darius* great Uneasiness; for as he affected Sovereignty, it was very much fear'd he would play the Traitor, as being the readiest way to attain his End. In the mean time, *Alexander* us'd all his Endeavours to get Intelligence what Country *Darius* was in, but to no purpose; the *Persians* being very religious Concealers of their King's Secrets: Neither Fear nor Hope can force a Discovery from 'em: The ancient Discipline of their Princes enjoining 'em to Secrecy on Pain of Death. The Intemperance of the Tongue, is with them more severely punish'd than any other Crime: Nor can they imagine him to be capable of great Matters, that finds a Difficulty in being silent, a thing that Nature has made so easie in it self. This was the Cause why *Alexander* (being altogether ignorant of what the Enemy was doing) laid Siege to

Gaza.

Gaza. *Betis* was its Governor, and was a Man of noted Fidelity to his *King*, and tho' his Garrison was but small, yet he defended the Walls which were of a large Compass. *Alexander* having view'd the Situation of the Place, order'd several Mines to be made; which Work was favour'd by the Lightness of the Ground, for the neighbouring Sea discharg'd great Quantities of Sand upon it, and there were neither Rocks nor Stones to obstruct the Work. The Mines were begun on that side where they could not be perceiv'd by the Besieged, and that they might have no Suspicion of what was doing, the *King* gave Orders to approach the Towers to the Walls. But the Nature of the Ground was no way proper for this Work, for the Sand sinking under the Weight of the Wheels, retarded their Motion, and disconcerted the whole Frame of the Towers, so that the Scaffolds broke, and many of the Soldiers were wounded thereby; besides, there was as much Difficulty to bring the Towers back, as there had been to carry 'em forward. Hereupon *Alexander* gave the Signal for a Retreat, and the next Day he order'd the Town to be surrounded; and as soon as the Sun was up, before his Army advanc'd to the Charge, he offer'd Sacrifice to the *Gods*, after his Country manner, to implore their Assistance. While the *King* was thus employ'd, a Crow happen'd to fly over him, and suddenly let go a Lump of Earth that it held in its Claws, which falling on the *King's* Head, broke in pieces; and the Crow went and settled on a Tower hard by: The Tower was besmear'd with *Bitumen* and *Sulphur*, which catching hold of the Crow's Wings, so entangl'd its Feathers, that it struggl'd in vain to fly away, and was taken by the Standers-by. The Accident was look'd upon to be important enough to have the Soothsayers consulted about it, for *Alexander* was something inclin'd

clin'd himself to that kind of Superstition. *Aristander* who was chiefly credited in this Art, told the *King* that this *Omen* portended the Ruin of the City, but that he would be in danger of being wounded, and therefore advis'd him, *not to attempt any thing against it that Day.*

Altho' the *King* was very much concern'd that a single City should, by its Obstinacy, hinder him from passing into *Egypt* with security, yet he thought it advisable to comply with the Soothsayer's Request, and accordingly gave the Signal for the Retreat. This so encourag'd the Besieged, that sallying out they attack'd the *Macedonians* in the Rear, thinking that the Enemy's delay ought to be their Opportunity; but their *Constancy* did not second their *Fury* in the Engagement; for, when they saw the *Macedonians* rally, they presently stopp'd again. By this time the Shouts of those that were fighting reach'd the *King*, who presently flew to the Assistance of his Men, unmindful of the Danger he had been warn'd of; however, at the intreaty of his Friends, he put on his Armour, which he otherwise rarely wore.

Here a certain *Arabian*, one of *Darius's* Soldiers, ventur'd upon an Action above his Fortune, and covering his Sword with his Buckler, fell upon his Knees before the *King*, as if he had deserted to him; whereupon the *King* bid him rise, and order'd him to be receiv'd into his Service, but the *Barbarian* taking his Sword courageously into his right Hand, made at the *King's* Head; who having declin'd the Blow at the same time cut off the disappointed Hand of the *Barbarian*, and flatter'd himself that he was now clear'd of the Danger of the Day. However *Fate*, as I take it, is *unavoidable*, for as he was fighting gallantly among the foremost he was wounded with an Arrow, which pass'd through his Armour, and stuck in

in his Shoulder, from whence *Philip*, his Physician, drew it. Now the Blood began to run in a great quantity, and all that stood by were frighten'd, never having known an Arrow penetrate so deep through Armour before. As for *Alexander*, he did not so much as change his Countenance, but bid 'em *stop the bleeding, and tie up the Wound*. Thus he remain'd some time at the Head of the Army, either dissembling or overcoming the Pain ; but when the Blood that had been stopp'd by an Application, began to run a fresh in a larger Quantity, and the Wound (which by reason of its newness did not at first pain him) upon the cooling of the Blood, began to swell, then he fainted and fell on his Knees. They that were next to him took him up, and carry'd him into his Tent, and *Betis* concluding him dead, return'd into the Town in a triumphing manner ; but the *King*, impatient of delay, (before his Wounds were cur'd) gave Orders for a Terraß to be rais'd as high as the *City* Walls, which he commanded to be undermin'd. The Besieged on their part were not idle, for they had erected a new Fortification of equal height with the old Wall, but that however did not come upon the level with the *Towers* which were planted on the *Terraß*, so that the inward parts of the Town were expos'd to the Enemies Darts ; and to compleat their hard Fate, the Walls were now overthrown by the Mines, and gave the *Macedonians* an opportunity of entering the City at the Breaches. The *King* was at the Head of the foremost, and while he carelessly enter'd the Place, his Leg was hurt with a Stone, notwithstanding which, leaning on his Dart, he fought among the first; tho' his old Wound was not yet heal'd ; his Resentment was the greater on the account of his having receiv'd two Wounds in this Siege. *Betis* having
behav'd

behav'd himself gallantly, and receiv'd several Wounds, was at last forsaken by his Men, yet this did not hinder him from fighting on, tho' his Arms were grown slippery with his own and the Enemies Blood; but being attack'd on all Sides, he was taken alive, and being brought before the King, who was overjoy'd that he had him in his Power, insomuch that *he* that us'd to admire Virtue, even in an Enemy, giving way this time to Revenge, told him, *Thou shalt not, Betis, dye as thou would'st, but expect to undergo whatever Torments Ingenuity can invent.* At which Threats, *Betis*, without making any Reply, gave the King not only an undaunted, but an insolent Look; whereupon *Alexander* said, *Do you take notice of his obstinate Silence? Has he either offer'd to kneel down, or made the least Submission? However, I'll overcome his Taciturnity, if by no other Means, at least by Groans.* This said, his Anger turn'd to Rage, his Fortune having already corrupted his Manners, so that *he* order'd Cords to be run thro' *Betis's* Heels, and ty'd to the hinder part of a Cart, and in that manner to be dragg'd alive round the City, valuing himself for having imitated Achilles (from whom he descended) in punishing his Enemy.

In this Action there perish'd about ten thousand *Persians* and *Arabians*, neither was it a bloodless Victory to the *Macedonians*. However, the Siege was not so considerable on the score of the Character of the Town, as for the two Wounds the King receiv'd therein. After this the King (making the best of his way to *Egypt*) dispatch'd *Amyntas* with ten Gallies to *Macedonia* to raise Recruits; for even his successful Battles diminish'd his Army, and *he* had not the same Confidence in foreign Soldiers as in those of his own Country.

C H A P. VII.

THE *Egyptians* had for a great while envy'd the *Persian* Grandure, and look'd upon their Government to be both Avaritious and Insolent, so that at the Rumour of *Alexander's* coming thither they began to take Courage; for they were so dispos'd to Revolt that they had before joyfully receiv'd *Amyntas* the Defenter, tho' his Power was altogether precarious. They therefore flock'd in great Numbers to *Pelusium*, thinking the King would enter that Way, and he arriv'd in *Egypt* at a Place call'd still *Alexander's* Camp, on the seventh Day after he left *Gaza*. Here he gave Orders to the Foot to repair to *Pelusium* by Land, while he with some chosen Troops was carry'd along the River *Nilus*. The *Persians* being terrify'd at the Revolution, did not dare to wait his coming. He was by this time come within a little way of *Memphis*, where *Mazaces* commanded for *Darius*; but not daring to oppose *Alexander*, he made haste to pass the River, and brought the King eight hundred Talents, and all the royal Furniture. From *Memphis* he continu'd his Course along the same River, and penetrated into the more inward Parts of *Egypt*, and having settled the Affairs of the Nation so as to change none of their ancient Customs, he resolv'd to visit the famous Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*. The Way thither was hardly practicable, even to a small Number, without any Incumbrance. There is a scarcity of Water from Heaven as well as Earth, and nothing to be seen but barren Sands, which when thoroughly heated by the Sun, burn the Soles of the Feet: In fine, the Heat is intolerable; but here is not only the excessive heat of the Sun, and the drought of the Country

Country to be struggled with, but also with a tenacious kind of Gravel, which lies very deep, and sinking under the Feet makes it very difficult to move. All these Inconveniencies were magnify'd by the *Egyptians*: However, *Alexander* was resolv'd to gratifie the ardent desire he had to visit *Jupiter*, whom he either really believ'd to be his Father (not being satisfy'd with his mortal Grandure) or had a mind the World should think so: He embark'd therefore with those he design'd should accompany him, and sail'd down the River to the Meer call'd *Mareosis*. While he was here, Ambassadors came to him from the *Cyrenenses* with Presents, desiring Peace, and that he would visit their Towns; but the *King* having accepted their Presents, and assur'd 'em of his Friendship, pursu'd his intended Journey. The first and second Days Fatigue seem'd tolerable, for they were not yet come to the vast, naked Solitudes, tho' the Ground here was barren, and as it were dead; but when those unbounded Plains appear'd that are cover'd over with deep Sands, they were at as great a Loss to discover Land as if they had been sailing on the deep. There was not so much as a Tree to be seen, nor the least token of a cultivated Soil; and they now wanted Water, that which they carry'd with 'em upon Camels being spent, and there was none to be had in those dry Grounds and burning Sands. Besides, the Sun had parch'd up every thing, all was scorch'd and burnt. They were in this distress'd Condition, when, on the sudden, the Sky was overcast with thick Clouds which intercepted the Sun, whether it were by Accident, or ordain'd as a Present from the Gods to relieve their pressing Calamity; this is certain, it was a seasonable Comfort to them (who were perishing with Heat) even tho' they still wanted Water: But when the Storm broke out

into a large and copious Rain, every one laid in his Provision thereof; some of 'em unable any longer to bear their Thirst, receiv'd it with open Mouth as it fell. They had already spent four Days in this vast Solitude, and were not now far off of the Seat of the Oracle, when a great flock of Crows came towards 'em, and flew gently before their Van, and sometimes settled to give 'em time to come up; and then taking Wing again preceded 'em, shewing them the Way, and as it were discharging the Office of a Guide; at last they reach'd the Place which was consecrated to the God. It seems to surpass belief, that being situate in so wild a Solitude, it should be encompass'd with Trees that grew so thick as to skreen it on all Sides from the piercing Rays of the Sun; being at the same time water'd with so many gentle Streams as were abundantly sufficient for the Nourishment of these Groves; and, to encrease the Miracle, the Air is here so temperate that it resembles the Spring, and is equally salubrious throughout all the Seasons of the Year. The People that inhabit the Neighbourhood of this Place are, on the East, those that border on the *Æthiopians*; and on the South those that Face the *Arabians*, call'd *Troglodytes*, whose Territory extends it self as far as the Red Sea; to the Westward it has other *Ethiopians*, call'd *Scenita*; to the Northward are the *Nasamones*, who are a People situate near the Flats, and enrich themselves by Piracy, lying in wait upon the Coast, ever ready to make a Prey of those Ships that are Stranded, being well acquainted with all the Fords. The Inhabitants of the Wood, who are call'd *Hammonians*, live in Cottages scatter'd up and down; the middle of the Wood serves 'em for a Citadel, being surrounded with a triple Wall: Within the first stands the ancient Palace of their *Kings*; in the second they keep their Wives and

Children, as also their Concubines ; here likewise is the Deity's Oracle, which in the last were the Prince's Guards and the Men at Arms. There is another Wood also belonging to *Hammon*, in the middle of which is a Fountain that they call the Water of the Sun : About break of Day this Water is lukewarm, in the middle of the Day, when the heat of the Sun is greatest, the same Water is very cold ; towards the Evening it grows warm again, and in the middle of the Night it is scalding hot ; and the nearer the Night draws on to Day, its nocturnal Heat decreases, till about break of Day it is lukewarm, as before. That which is ador'd for a *God* has not the same Form, under which Artificers use to represent the *Gods* ; it very much resembles a *Navel*, being compos'd of an Emerald and other precious Stones. When it is consulted, the *Priests* carry it in a golden Ship, which is set off with a great many silver Cups hanging on each side, and is follow'd by the *Matrons* and *Virgins* singing an uncouth sort of a *Hymn*, after their Country manner, by which they imagine *Jupiter* is prevail'd upon to render a certain Oracle.

As the *King* advanc'd towards the Oracle the senior Priest saluted him with the Title of *Son*, assuring him, *That Jupiter his Father bestow'd it on him*. To which he reply'd, *That he both accepted it and acknowledg'd it*, for he had now forgot his human Condition. Then he ask'd whether his Father did design him the Empire of the whole World ? And the Priest, who was equally dispos'd to flatter him, told him, *he should be universal Monarch of the whole Earth*. Then he put another *Quære*, viz. *Whether all those who were concern'd in his Father's Murther were punish'd ?* To this the Priest made answer, *That it was not in the Power of any mortal to injure his Father, but that*

that all that had a hand in Philip's Death had suffer'd condign Punishment. He moreover added, That he should continue Invincible till he took his Place among the Gods. After this, he offer'd Sacrifice, and made Presents to the Priests and to the God; after which his Friends were likewise permitted to consult the Oracle, but they only desir'd to know, Whether Jupiter approv'd of their paying divine Honours to their King? The Priest reply'd, That Jupiter was very well pleas'd they should pay divine Worship to their victorious King. Now whoever would judge sagely of the Sincerity and Credit of the Oracle, might easily have perceiv'd it was all Imposture by its Answers; but when once Fortune has prevail'd with Men to commit themselves intirely to her, she generally makes 'em more greedy of Power than capable of it.

Alexander therefore not only suffer'd himself to be call'd Jupiter's Son, but also commanded it; and while he thought by this Means to cast a greater Splendour on his great Actions, he lessen'd 'em. And notwithstanding the Macedonians were accusom'd to Kingly Government, yet as they retain'd still the shadow of a greater Liberty than other Nations, they more obstinately oppos'd his affected Immortality than was expedient either to themselves or the King. But of these Things we shall speak in their proper Places; and at present pursue the rest of his Actions.

C H A P. VIII.

Alexander, in his return from *Hammon*, when he came to *Palus Mareotis*, which is not far distant from the Island *Pharos*, having consider'd the Nature of the Place; he design'd at first to

build a City in the Island it self, but upon Reflection that the Island was too small for such a Purpose; he pitch'd upon that Place where *Alexandria* now stands, contracting its Name from its Founder: He took in all that space of Ground that lies between the Meer and the Sea, allotting fourscore Furlongs for the Compass of the Walls; and having appointed proper Persons to supervise the building of the City, he went to *Memphis*.

He was seiz'd with a Desire (no wise to be blam'd indeed had it been but well tim'd) to visit not only the inward parts of *Egypt*, but also *Æthiopia*. The celebrated Palace of *Memnon* and *Tithonus* was like to draw him (who was naturally greedy of the Knowledge of Antiquity) even beyond the Bounds of the Sun; but the War he had upon his Hands, of which the most difficult part still remain'd, would not allow him time for those idle Journeys; he therefore appointed *Aschylus* the *Rhodian*, and *Peucestes* the *Macedonian*, Governors of *Egypt*, leaving with them four thousand Men for the guard of the Country, and allotted thirty Gallies to *Polemon* to defend the Mouths of the Nile; then he constituted *Apollonius* Governor of that part of *Africk* that joins to *Egypt*, and made *Cleomenes* Receiver of all the Tributes arising from *Africa* and *Egypt*; and having commanded the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Towns to transplant themselves to *Alexandria*, he presently fill'd it with a great multitude of People. It is said, That when the King was marking out the Walls of the Town with a sort of Paste made of Barley Flower, according to the *Macedonian* Custom, the Birds came in Flocks to devour it; and as that was by several interpreted as portending Evil to the City in hand; the Soothsayers on the contrary said it was a lucky Omen, and that it indicated, that the City would be very much resorted to by Strangers,
and

and that she would afford Subsistence to several Countries.

The King, after this, was going down the River Nile, and *Hector*, *Parmenio's* Son (who was in the flower of his Age, and in great favour with *Alexander*) being eager to follow him, enter'd into a little Boat which had more People in it than it could carry, insomuch that it sunk with all those that were on board it. However, *Hector* struggled a long time with the Water, tho' his Clothes being thoroughly wet, and his Shoes being closely ty'd to his Feet, hinder'd him from swimming, and made a shift at last to gain the Shore half dead; but as soon as he endeavour'd to recover his Breath, which Fear and the Danger had for some time suppress'd, there being no Body at hand to assist him (for the rest had sav'd themselves on the other side) he expir'd. The King was mightily afflicted at this Accident, and therefore bury'd his Corps after a very magnificent Manner.

This Misfortune was aggravated by the Account the King receiv'd of the Death of *Andromachus*, his Governor of Syria, whom the *Samaritans* had burnt alive. The King therefore march'd with the utmost Expedition to revenge his Death, but at his Arrival they deliver'd him up the Authors of so barbarous a Crime, all whom he put to Death, and then substituted *Memnon* in his Place. He also put the Tyrants into the Hands of the People they had oppress'd, and among those of the *Methymnians*, *Aristonicus* and *Chrysolans*, whom they first tortur'd in revenge of their Insolence, and then executed, flinging them in contempt over the Walls of the City. Then he gave Audience to the Ambassadors of the *Athenians*, the *Rhodians* and the *Chiotas*; the *Athenians* congratulated him on his Victories, and de-

fired that the *Greek* Captives might be restor'd to their respective Cities: The *Rhodians* and the *Chiot*s complain'd of the Garrisons, and as all their Requests seem'd too just, he gratify'd them. To those of *Mitylene* he restor'd their Securities, in Consideration of their Fidelity, and the Money they had advanc'd for the Service of the War, adding a large Tract of Ground to their Territories. He also honour'd the *King* of *Cyprus*, according to the Merit of his Services, who had revolted from *Darius* to him, and had supply'd him with a Fleet when he besieg'd *Tyre*. He afterwards sent *Amphoterus*, his Admiral, to deliver *Creet* from the Oppression of the *Persians* and *Pirates*, but he enjoin'd him above all things to clear the Sea from the *Pirates*; for the two *Kings* being intent upon the War, the Seas were overrun with these Plunderers. Having settled these Matters, he dedicated to *Hercules* of *Tyre*, a large Bowl and thirty Cups of Gold; then bending his Thoughts altogether on *Darius*, he gave Orders for the Army to march towards the *Euphrates*.

CHAP. IX.

BUT when *Darius* knew for certain that his Enemy was march'd into *Africa*, he was unresolv'd whether he should stay in the Neighbourhood of *Mesopotamia*, or should retire farther into his Dominions; for he concluded he should be better able upon the Place to influence those remote Nations to engage heartily in the War, which his Deputies found great Difficulties to do; but then again being inform'd from good Hands, that *Alexander* was determin'd to follow him with his whole Army into whatsoever Country he went,

as he was not ignorant of the indefatigable Bravery of his Adversary, *he sent Orders to those remote Nations, to send him all the Succour they could to Babylon.* The *Bactrians, Scythians* and *Indians* accordingly repair'd thither with the Troops of the other Nations ; his Army being now as numerous again as it was in *Cilicia*, a great many of those that compos'd it wanted Arms, which were getting ready for 'em with the utmost diligence. The Horses as well as the Riders were provided with Armour of Iron. They who before had only Darts had now Swords and Bucklers given them. And that *his* present Army might be much stronger in Horse than his former was, *he distributed a great many Horses to the Foot to be broke.*

There were besides two hundred Chariots arm'd with Sithes, which these Nations look upon to be their chief Strength, and very terrible to the Enemy ; at the end of the Pole were fix'd two Pikes arm'd with Iron Spikes, the Spokes of the Wheels were compass'd round with several Darts which pointed forward ; and the Fellies were arm'd with Scythes so dispos'd that they cut to pieces whatever stood in their way.

Having thus provided and fitted out his Army he set forwards from *Babylon* ; on his Right he had the *Tigre*, a noble River, and his Left was cover'd with the *Euphrates*. His Army was so numerous that it fill'd all the Plains of *Mesopotamia* ; having therefore pass'd the River *Tigris*, and understanding the Enemy was not far off, he sent before *Satropates* with a thousand chosen Horse, and then detach'd *Mazeus* with six thousand more to hinder *Alexander* from passing the *Euphrates* ; he was also commanded to *destroy and burn all the Country that would be first expos'd to the Enemy* ; for he imagin'd that not having any other Provisions for his Army than what he got by Pillage, he might

be overcome by mere want, whilst his own was plentifully supply'd with all Necessaries both by Land and by the *Tigre*. *Darius* was by this time come to *Arbela*, which he was destin'd to make glorious by his own memorable Defeat; leaving here the greatest part of his Baggage and Provisions, he laid a Bridge over the *Lycus*, and pass'd his Army over it in five Days, as he had done before over the *Euphrates*; then advancing about fourscore Furlongs farther, he came to another River call'd *Bumado*, where he encamp'd. This Country was very convenient for his numerous Army, being a plain open Ground, and very commodious for the Horse, as being cover'd neither with Bushes nor Shrubs, so that the Eye had an uninterrupted Prospect to discover Things at the remotest distance; and where it seem'd to swell into any thing of an Eminence, *he order'd it to be laid level with the rest*. They that were sent by *Alexander* to take a View of the Enemy's Army, and who made an Estimate of it by the great Tract of Ground it cover'd, could hardly convince him of the Truth of their Report; for he thought it impossible that after so great a Loss he should now be stronger than he was at first. However, as *he* despis'd all Danger in general, and particularly that from a superiority of Number, *he* came in eleven Days to the *Euphrates*, and having laid a Bridge over it, he first pass'd his Horse and after them the *Phalanx*; *Mazeus* who had been sent to oppose his Passage, not daring to make trial of his Fortune against *him*. Here having granted the Soldiers a few Days, not so much to rest their Bodies as to confirm their Minds, he eagerly pursu'd *Darius*, for he was afraid he might retire to the remotest Parts of his Dominions, and that then *he* should be oblig'd to follow him thro' vast Wilds and Desarts that were destitute of all

Neces-

Necessaries. On the fourth Day therefore he pass'd by *Arbela* and came to the *Tigre*. All the Country beyond the River was yet smoaking; for *Mazeus* set every thing on Fire, as if he had been himself the Enemy: And as the Smoak had caus'd a great Darkness, the King suspecting some Ambuscade, halted for some time, till being inform'd by his Scouts that there was no Danger, he order'd some Horsemen to try the Depth of the Ford of the River: at first it took the Horses up to the Belly, and in the middle it reach'd their Necks.

In all the Eastern Parts there is not any River that runs with so great a Rapidity, many Torrents falling into it, so that it carries even great Stones along with its Stream: From the Swiftness of its Current it bore the Name of *Tigre*; because an Arrow in the *Persian* Language is call'd *Tigris*. The Foot being divided into two Bodies, and encompass'd with the Horse, carry'd their Arms over their Head, and in that order pass'd without much Difficulty till they came where the River was deepest. The King pass'd over among the Foot, and was the first that gain'd the other Side; from whence he made Signs to the Soldiers with his Hand, because his Voice could not be heard, where the Ford was shallowest. But they had much to do to keep their Legs; sometimes the Slippery Stones deceiving their Steps, and sometimes the Violence of the Water tripping up their Heels. But they that were loaded were hardest put to it, for as they were hinder'd from governing themselves, they were carry'd away by the Rapidity of the Whirlpools: And as every one endeavour'd to recover what he had lost, they struggl'd more among themselves than with the Stream: Besides the Bundles that floated on the Water bore down a great many of them. Here--

upon the King cry'd out to 'em, only to take Care of their Arms, and that he would make good their other Losses. But they neither harken'd to his Counsel, nor obey'd his Commands, for Fear; besides, their own mutual Clamour made 'em incapable of doing either. At last they got where the Current flows after a gentler manner, and so gain'd the Shoar, without any other Damage than the Loss of a little Lumber.

Here the Army might have been totally destroy'd had any Body but dar'd to conquer; but the King's constant good Fortune kept the Enemy at a distance. Thus he pass'd the *Granicus* in the Sight of so many thousand Horse and Foot that were drawn up on the other side of the River: Thus the Straits of *Cilicia* serv'd him to vanquish so vast a Multitude of his Enemies. And notwithstanding he might seem bold to excess, yet he cannot well be censur'd for it, because his continual Success never afforded an Opportunity to conclude him rash.

Mazeus (who, if he had come upon 'em while they were passing the River, might without doubt have destroy'd 'em in that Disorder) never appear'd till they had gain'd the Shoar, and stood to their Arms. He had sent only a thousand Horse before him, which *Alexander* perceiving, he despis'd the insignificant Number, and presently commanded *Ariston*, who was Captain of the *Paonian* Horse, to charge 'em briskly. In this Action the *Paonians* behav'd themselves gallantly, but particularly *Ariston*, who with his Spear run *Satropates*, the *Persian* Commander, into the Throat, and pursuing him through the midst of the Enemies, threw him off his Horse, and notwithstanding his Resistance, cut off his Head, which he brought, and laid down at the King's Feet, who applauded his Resolution and Bravery.

C H A P. X.

THE King encamp'd here two Days, and order'd the Army to be ready to march the next; but about the first Watch the Moon suffer'd an Eclipse, and first lost its Planetary Brightness, after which it was overcast with a sanguine Colour, that fully'd all its Light. And as the Soldiers were already solicitous on the Account of the approaching Battle, this Accident struck 'em first with a superstitious Awe, which was succeeded by Fear; insomuch that they complain'd, *That they were dragg'd into the remotest Countries against the Will of the Gods; that the Rivers deny'd them Passage, and the Planets refus'd 'em their usual Light. That nothing but vast Wilds and Desarts were to be seen; that the Blood of so many thousand Men must be spilt to gratify the Vanity of one Man, who not only disown'd his Father Philip, but let his vain Thoughts climb to Heaven for his Original.* The Matter was almost come to a Sedition, when Alexander, who was always undaunted, gave Orders for all the Officers to repair to his Tent; where he commanded the *Ægyptian Astronomers* (whom he look'd upon to be best acquainted with the Course of the Heavens and the Planets) to declare their Opinion concerning the present Phænomenon. But as they were not ignorant that Time has its constant Revolutions, and that the Moon suffers an Eclipse whenever it gets beneath the Earth, they did not trouble themselves to divulge their Knowledge to the Publick, but only affirm'd, *That the Sun was the Greeks Planet, and the Moon the Persians:* and that whenever this was eclips'd, it portended Destruction and Ruin to these Nations. And for Proof hereof, they relate several Instances.

ces of the *Persian Kings*, who were warn'd by the *Eclipse of the Moon* that they fought against the *Will of the Gods*.

There is nothing has so great an Influence over the Minds of the Vulgar, as Superstition; tho' it be otherwise violent, furious, and unconstant, let it but be seiz'd with a vain Religion, and it shall more readily obey the Priests than the Governours.

The Answer of the *Ægyptians* therefore being communicated to the Multitude, reviv'd their drooping Hopes, and animated 'em with fresh Assurance. The King thinking it best to make use of their present Disposition, decamp'd at the second Watch; he had the *Tigre* on his Right, and on his Left, the *Gordean Hills*. As he was marching this way, his Scouts came to him about Break of Day, to let him know that *Darius was advancing towards him*. Hereupon he drew up his Army in order of Battel, being himself at the Head, and so continu'd his March: But it prov'd to be only the *Persian Scouts* consisting of about a thousand Men, who made a great Appearance. Thus when the Truth cannot be discover'd, Fear swells the Account into Falsities. The King understanding the Truth of the Matter, took with him a small number of Men and pursu'd the Enemy, who presently fled back to their main Body; however he kill'd some, and took others Prisoners; and then dispatch'd a Detachment of Horse to get Intelligence of the Enemy, and to put out the Fires the *Barbarians* had kindl'd up and down in order to destroy the Villages: For before they took to their Heels they set fire to the Roofs of the Houses and to the Stacks of Corn, so that the Flames being diverted in the upper Parts had not yet forc'd its way to the lower. The Fires being thus put out, they found great Quantities of Corn, and

and began also to have Plenty of other Necessaries. This encourag'd the Soldiers to pursue the Enemy who burnt and laid the Country waste; it being necessary for the *Macedonians* to make what Haste they could after them to prevent every thing being consum'd. Thus Necessity supply'd the Place of Reason; for *Mazeus*, who before destroy'd every thing at leisure, was at present contented to fly, and left a great deal behind him entire and untouch'd.

Alexander was now inform'd that *Darius* was come within a hundred and fifty Furlongs of him: Hereupon, having with him Plenty of Provisions, he staid in this Camp four Days. While he remain'd here some Letters were intercepted that came from *Darius*, whereby the *Greeks* were solicited to kill or betray the King: *Alexander* was for some time doubtful whether he should read 'em to the whole Army or not, because he was pretty well assur'd of the Good-will and Fidelity of the *Greeks*: But *Parmenio* put him off of it, by telling him, that it was not convenient to communicate such things to Soldiers, since the King lay expos'd thereby to any one of 'em that would be a Traitor: Besides *Avarice* thought nothing a Crime. The King following this Advice, decamp'd. Upon the March one of the captive *Eunuchs*, that attended *Darius's* Queen, brought him word, that the Queen had fainted and drew her Breath with Difficulty. The great Fatigue of the Journey, and Grief of Mind, had so wrought upon her, that she swooned away between her Mother-in-Law and her two Daughters, and so died; which was immediately notify'd to him by another Messenger. This surprising Accident so touch'd the King, that he could not have shewn more Concern had he receiv'd Advice of the Death of his own Mother. He sigh'd, and even wept as *Darius* himself would have

have done; and immediately repair'd to the Tent, where *Darius's* Mother was sitting by the Corps of the deceased. Here the King's Grief renew'd when he beheld her extended on the Ground. *Darius's* Mother also, being by this fresh Evil put in Mind of past Misfortunes, had took the two young Virgins in her Lap, by the way of mutual Comfort; tho' at the same time she ought to have been a real Comfort to them. The young Prince stood likewise before her, and was by so much the more to be pity'd, that he was not yet sensible of the Calamity, though his was the greatest Share. Any Body would have thought *Alexander* had been lamenting some of his own Relations; and instead of giving Comfort, stood in need of it himself. He abstain'd from eating, and order'd the Funeral to be perform'd after the *Persian* Manner; and seem'd then to deserve the Reward he has since had for his good Nature and Continency. He had never seen her but once, which was the Day she was taken Prisoner, and even then it was *Darius's* Mother he went to visit. He was so far from receiving any Impression of Lust from her excellent Beauty, that it only serv'd to excite him to Glory and Honour. While Grief fill'd all the Place, one of the *Eunuchs*, nam'd *Tyriotes*, got out at a Back-door, which was less minded than the rest, and fled to the *Persian* Camp; and being taken up by the Guard, was brought before *Darius*, lamenting and tearing his Clothes. As soon as *Darius* saw him in this Condition he was disturb'd with Variety of Thoughts, and hardly knew what chiefly to fear: *Thy Looks*, said he, *bespeak some great Misfortune; but whatever it be, be sure to conceal nothing from me, for by my repeated Calamities, I have learn'd to be unhappy; and sometimes even to know ones Misery is a Comfort: Say then, dost thou bring me (which is what*

I most

I most suspect and dread to utter) an Account of the Violation of my Family's Honour, which to me, and I suppose to them, would be more afflicting than the greatest Torments? To which Tyriotes reply'd, Sir, there is nothing, I assure you, of what you fear: for whatever Honours are paid by Subjects to Queens, are duly paid to yours by the Conqueror; but your Royal Consort is dead. At these Words the whole Camp was fill'd with Cries and Lamentations: and Darius no longer doubted, but she had been kill'd for refusing to yield up her Honour; and distracted with Grief, he broke out in these Exclamations, What Crime have I committed, Alexander? which of your Relations have I put to Death, that you should punish my Cruelty after this manner! You hate me without Provocation; but admitting your War to be just, ought you for that to wreak your Revenge on Women? Hereupon Tyriotes swore by the Tutelar Gods of the Country, That no ill Usage had been offer'd her, but on the contrary that Alexander express'd no less Grief for her Death, than he himself could do, who was her Husband. These Words encreas'd his Anxiety, and gave him greater Suspicion that this Tenderness proceeded from the familiar Conversation he had with her; dismissing therefore all that were present, except Tyriotes only, he now no longer wept, but sighing said, Look thee, Tyriotes, thou must not think to put me off with Lies; for Torments presently shall express the Truth from thee: But I conjure thee by the Gods not to keep me so long in suspense; if thou hast any Veneration for thy King, tell me what I desire to know, and am ashamed to utter, did not the youthful Conqueror offer Violence to her? Then Tyriotes offer'd to suffer the Rack, and call'd the Gods to witness, that the Queen had been us'd with all the Respect the strictest Virtue could require. At last Darius being

convinc'd

convinc'd of the Truth of what the *Euruch* said, he cover'd his Head, and wept a long time; and the Tears still flowing from his Eyes, he uncover'd his Face, and holding up his Hands to Heaven, he said, *Ye Tutelar Gods of my Dominions, my first Request is, that you would vouchsafe to confirm my Kingdom to my self; but if my Ruin be determin'd, I beg no other may be admitted King of Asia, than this just Enemy, this merciful Conqueror.*

CHAP. XI.

NOtwithstanding *Darius* had twice ask'd for Peace without obtaining it, and thereupon had bent his whole Mind to War; yet, overcome by the Virtue of his Enemy, he made choice of ten of the chiefest of his Relations to make fresh Overtures; whom *Alexander* admitted, having summon'd his Council to attend on that Occasion. Then the eldest of the *Ambassadors* told him, *That Darius did now a third time desire Peace of him, not that he was compell'd to it by any Force or Necessity, but mov'd thereto by his Justice and Continency. That such was his generous Behaviour to his Mother, his Wife, and his Children, that he should hardly think 'em to be Captives, but because they were not with himself. You shew a fatherly Care of those that are yet living, and honour 'em with the Title of Queens; leaving to 'em all the Splendour of their former Fortunes. I can read as much Concern in your Looks as there was in Darius's when we left him, and yet he bewails the Loss of a Wife, and you only that of an Enemy: And were it not for your pious Care of her Funeral, you would now have been at the Head of your Army,*
drawn

drawn up in Order of Battel. Now where is the great Wonder, if being overcome by so much Bounty and friendly Usage, he desires Peace of you? What occasion is there for Arms where there is no Hatred? Heretofore he offer'd you the River Halys, that terminates Lydia, for the Bounds of your Empire. Now he proffers you all the Countries that lie between the Hellespont and the Euphrates, as a Portion with his Daughter, which he freely gives you in Marriage. He moreover offers to leave with you his Son Ochus as a Pledge of the Peace, and his Integrity. He only requires you will restore to him his Mother and Virgin Daughters, for which you shall receive thirty thousand Talents of Gold. Were I not already convinc'd of your Moderation, I would remind you, that at this Juncture, it were your Interest not only to grant Peace, but readily to accept of it. Do but look back on the vast Countries you leave behind you, and take a view in thought, of what still remains to conquer. An overgrown unweildy Empire is always in Danger, and it is a difficult thing to hold fast what you cannot grasp. We see those Ships that are of an unweildy Bulk, are not easily governed. And I cannot tell but Darius therefore lost so much, because too much Wealth furnishes Opportunities for great Losses. There are some things much easier to acquire than to keep: With how much more Ease do our Hands snatch things away, than hold 'em afterwards? even the Death of Darius's Queen, may make you sensible that you have not now so much room left you to shew your merciful Temper as before.

The Ambassador having finish'd his Speech, Alexander order'd 'em to withdraw, and requir'd those of his Council to speak their Opinions. They all remain'd silent for some time, not daring to declare their Sentiments, by Reason they were uncertain how the King himself was disposed: At last

Parmenio

Parmenio spoke to this effect. *I was of Opinion heretofore, Sir, that the Prisoners should have been restor'd to those that would have redeem'd 'em at Damascus, by which means a considerable Sum of Money might have been rais'd; whereas, while you detain 'em, they only deprive you of the Service of a great many brave Hands; and I cannot but think it now adviseable to make an Exchange of an old Woman and two young Girls (which like a troublesome Luggage, only retard your Marches) for thirty thousand Talents of Gold. Besides, here is a noble Kingdom to be had by Agreement, without so much as running the Risk of an uncertain War; none before you ever having possess'd all that vast Tract of Land that lies between the Ister and the Euphrates. Turn therefore your Thoughts, Sir, upon Macedonia, rather than on Bactra or the Indies. The King was very much displeas'd with this Speech; and therefore as soon as he had concluded it, he said, and I also would prefer Money to Glory, if I were Parmenio: But as I am Alexander, I am secure from Poverty, and I consider that I am no Merchant, but a King. I don't pretend to sell any thing, neither will I sell my Reputation: If it be adviseable to restore the Captives, it is more honourable to deliver 'em up gratis, than for a Sum of Money. Then calling in the Ambassadors, he made 'em this Answer: Tell Darius (for the Ceremony of Thanks is superfluous between Enemies) *That the Acts of Clemency and Generosity that I have done, were not intended to procure his Friendship, but were the real Effects of my own good Nature: For I don't pretend to shew Hostilities to those in Affliction; my Arms are designed for an armed Enemy. If he sincerely su'd for Peace, perhaps I might deliberate whether I should give it or not. But since he has not only sollicitated my Soldiers to revolt, but also endeavoured to corrupt my Friends with Money to destroy**

stroy me, I think my self oblig'd to pursue him to Destruction, not as a just Enemy, but as a Russian and a Murtherer. As for the Conditions he offers me, they are such, that to receive 'em, were to acknowledge him Conqueror. He proffers me all behind the Euphrates; Does he shew his Liberality in that? Where am I at this Instant you address to me? Am I not got beyond the Euphrates? It is plain then, that I am already encamp'd beyond the Bounds he offers me with his Daughter.

Drive me then from hence, that I may be sensible that what you yield to me is your own. He shews his Liberality much after the same rate, when he offers me his Daughter: Would he not otherwise marry her to some of his Servants? It's a mighty Favour he does me, to prefer me to Mazæus. Go therefore and tell your King, that what he has already lost, and what he has still to lose, is all to be the Reward of War and Victory. That this must determine the Bounds of both Empires, and each shall be content with what Fortune shall allot him to Morrow. If he would be contented with the second Rank, and not insist on being upon an Equality with me, may be I might grant what he asks; for I did not come into Asia to receive, but to give. Tell him then, that as the Celestial World cannot be govern'd by two Suns, so it is inconsistent with the Welfare of the Terrestrial one, to be rul'd by two powerful Kingdoms. Let him therefore resolve to surrender himself to Day, or prepare for Battel to Morrow: Let him not flatter himself with the Hopes of better Fortune than what he has already experienc'd. To this the Ambassadors answer'd; That since he was bent upon War, it was candidly done of him not to amuse 'em with the Hopes of a Peace. They therefore desir'd, they might forthwith repair to their Prince, since it was necessary he should likewise prepare himself for Battel. And being accordingly
dismiss'd

dismiss'd, they acquainted *Darius*, That he was on the Point of an Engagement.

C H A P. XII.

Hereupon he immediately dispatch'd *Mazeus* with three thousand Horse, to take Possession of the Passes; and *Alexander* having perform'd the Funeral of *Darius's* Queen, left the heavy Baggage, and whatever could retard his March, within the Camp, appointing a small Guard for its Security, and then advanc'd towards the Enemy. He divided his Foot into two Bodies, and posted the Cavalry on the Right and Left of it. The Carriages follow'd in the Rear. Then he sent *Menidas* with a Party of Horse to discover where *Darius* was. But he not daring to advance very far, because *Mazeus* lay in his way, return'd and told *Alexander* that there was nothing to be heard but the Noise of Men, and the Neighing of Horses. On the other side, *Mazeus* perceiving the *Macedonians* Scouts at a distance, return'd to the Camp, and acquainted *Darius* with the Approach of the Enemy; and as he was desirous of deciding the Matter in the open Plains, he commanded his Soldiers to take to their Arms, and drew them up in order of Battel. In the left Wing were the *Bactrian* Horse, to the Number of a thousand; there were as many *Dace*, with four thousand *Arachians* and *Susians*. These were follow'd by fifty Chariots arm'd with Scythes: Next unto them was *Bessus*, with eight thousand *Bactrian* Horse, and two thousand *Massagetae*: Then came the Foot of several Nations, not mix'd, but in a distinct Order, each in their respective Corps. Then follow'd *Ariobarhanes* and *Orobates*, who led up the
Persians.

Persians, and had also with 'em the *Mardians* and *Sogdians*. These two Generals had their particular Commands, but *Orsines* commanded this Part of the Army in chief. He was descended from some of the seven *Persians*, and even deriv'd himself from *Cyrus*. These were succeeded by other Nations hardly known to their Associates. After these came *Phradates*, with the *Caspian* Forces, and fifty Chariots of War: Behind these were the *Indians*, and the other Nations that inhabit along the Coast of the Red-Sea, rather mere Names than Auxiliaries. This Body was follow'd by fifty other arm'd Chariots, which were join'd by the Foreigners: After these came the *Armenians*, distinguish'd by the Title of *Lesser*. The *Babylonians* follow'd these, and both were clos'd by the *Belite*, and those who inhabit the *Cossæan* Hills. After these march'd the *Gortuans*, *Æubeans* originally, and had formerly follow'd the *Medians*, but were now degenerated, and wholly ignorant of the Customs of their Country. The *Phrygians* and *Cathonians*, and then the *Parthians* who formerly came out of *Scythia*, brought up the Rear. This was the Order of the Left Wing. The Right was form'd by the Troops of the greater *Armenia*, the *Cadusians*, *Cappadocians*, *Syrians*, and *Medians*; these had likewise with 'em fifty arm'd Chariots. The Total of the Army amounted to forty five thousand Horse, and two hundred thousand Foot. Being drawn up after this manner, they advanc'd ten Furlongs, and then were commanded to halt, and expect the Enemy under their Arms.

At this very Juncture a sudden Fear, of which no Cause could be giv'n, seiz'd *Alexander's* Army, every one was amaz'd, and a secret Dread spread it self over all their Hearts. The Brightness from the Clouds (it being Summer-time) at a distance appear'd

appear'd to them like so many flaming Fires round about 'em, which they took for those of *Darius's* Camp; so that they were afraid they had inconsiderately advanc'd amongst the Enemies Guards. Had but *Mazeus* fallen upon 'em, while they were still possess'd with this Fear, he might have given 'em a great Blow. But he remain'd idle on the Eminence he had taken Possession of, very well pleas'd that he was not attack'd himself.

Alexander being inform'd of the Fright his Army was in, order'd the Signal to be given for a Halt, and then commanded 'em to lay down their Arms, and rest their Bodies; giving them to understand, That there was no Cause at all for their Fear, the Enemy being yet at a good distance. At last they recover'd their Spirits and resum'd their Arms: However *Alexander* thought it the best way to remain in that very Place where he then was, and fortify his Camp.

The next Day *Mazeus*, who had posted himself (as we said) on an Eminence from whence he could discover the *Macedonians* Camp; whether it were because he had no other Orders than barely to take a View of the Enemy, repair'd to *Darius*. Hereupon the *Macedonians* presently took Possession of his Post, for it was safer than the Plain, and they could from thence take a Prospect of the *Persian* Army. For notwithstanding the moist Hills sent up such a Mist as hinder'd 'em from taking a distinct View of their several Divisions and their Order of Battel, yet it did not hinder them from a general Survey. The Multitude overspread the Plains like an Inundation, and the Noise of so many thousands, even at that distance, fill'd their Ears.

The King began now to waver in his Mind, and tho' it was too late, would sometimes weigh his own Resolution, and sometimes *Parmenio's* Advice;

Advice; for he was advanc'd so far, that he could not retire with any manner of Safety, without he were victorious. *He* was alarm'd at the vast Multitude of his Enemies, in comparision of his own small Number: But then again he recall'd to mind the many great Actions he had atchiev'd with that little Army, and the many Nations he had conquer'd with it. So that Hope having got the better of Fear, and concluding that Delays were dangerous, since thereby Despair might gain Ground on the Minds of his Men, he dissembl'd his Thoughts, and commanded *the mercenary Pæonian Horse to advance*. And having divided his *Phalanx*, as we said before, into two Bodies, he plac'd his Cavalry on each Wing. By this time the Mist was clear'd up, so that *Darius's* Army was plainly to be seen: And the *Macedonians*, whether out of Alacrity, or being tir'd with the Tediuousness of any longer Delay, gave a great Shout, after the manner of Armies before they engage; and the *Persians* return'd the same, filling the neighbouring Woods and Vallies with a dreadful Sound. And notwithstanding the *Macedonians* could hardly be hinder'd from rushing furiously on the Enemy, yet *Alexander* thought it still more adviseable to fortify his Camp on the Hill, and accordingly order'd a Trench to be cast up round it; and the Work being speedily perform'd, he repair'd to his Tent, from whence he could behold the Enemies whole Army.

C H A P. XIII.

HERE a perfect Image of the ensuing Danger, presented it self before his Eyes, the Horses as well as Men, glitter'd in Armor, and the Care
the

the Generals took to ride through the Ranks of their respective Divisions, made him sensible that the Enemy was preparing with all possible Diligence for the approaching Battel; besides several things, which tho' of little Moment themselves, such as the Noise of the Multitude, the Neighing of the Horses, the Brightness of their Arms, disturb'd his Mind that was full of Solitude for the future Event.

Therefore whether he was yet unresolv'd, or by the way of Trial, to know how they stood affected, he call'd a Council, and ask'd 'em what they thought most adviseable in the present Juncture. *Parmenio* (who was the most experienc'd of all the Generals in the Art of War) was rather for surprising the Enemy than for an open Battel. He said, they might easily be vanquish'd, in the dead time of the Night. For as they consisted of Nations so different in their Customs and Speech, how would they be able in the Confusion of the Night, ever to rally if set upon in their Sleep, and terrify'd with the unforeseen Danger? Whereas in the Day-time, the frightful Aspects of the Scythians and the Bactrians, with their rough Visages and long Hair, and the monstrous Size of their vast Bodies, might strike a Dread in the Soldiers, who are more liable to receive Impressions from Trifles, than from Realities; moreover, their small Number would be in Danger of being surrounded by so great a Multitude: for they had not now the Straits of Cilicia and narrow Passes to fight in, but the Plains and open Fields. They were almost all of *Parmenio's* Opinion; and *Polypercon* did not scruple to declare, That the Victory depended on the Execution of it. The King therefore looking at *Polypercon* (for as he had lately been severer with *Parmenio* than he wish'd, he could not find in his Heart to reprove him again) said, *This subtle Wisdom you advise me to, belongs to Thieves*

Thieves and Robbers; for their chief Aim is to deceive. But I shall not always suffer either Darius's Absence, or the Straitness of the Place, or a Surprise in the Night to rob me of my Glory. I am determin'd to attack him openly, and had rather have occasion to blame my Fortune, than be asham'd of my Victory. Besides, I am very well assur'd, that the Persians keep strict Guards and stand to their Arms, so that it were impossible to fall upon 'em at unawares. Wherefore prepare your selves for Battel.

Having thus encourag'd 'em, he dismiss'd 'em to refresh themselves. Now Darius imagining the Enemy would have done as Parmenio propos'd, had order'd, *That the Horses should stand ready bridl'd all the Night, and a great Part of the Army to be under their Arms, and the Watches to be stricter kept than usually.* His whole Camp was illuminated with Fires; and he himself with his Generals and Relations rid about the Divisions that were upon Duty. Then invoking *the Sun that they call Mithres, and the sacred and eternal Fire, to inspire his Army with a Courage worthy their ancient Glory, and the Acts of their Predecessors; and declar'd, that if it was possible for the Mind of Man to guess at Tokens of the Divine Assistance, it was plain, that the Gods were on their side. It was they who struck the Macedonians lately with a sudden Fear; they being still in great Confusion, as appear'd by their running about and flinging down their Arms: That the time was now at hand that the Tutelar Gods of Persia, had pitch'd upon to punish those mad Men, and that their General was no wiser than the rest. For after the manner of wild Beasts, he look'd so greedily upon his Prey, as like them, to fall into the Snares which were set before it.*

The Macedonians were in the same Solitude, and pass'd that Night in as much fear as if the Battel

had been to be then fought. *Alexander* himself was more terrify'd than ever he had been before, and call'd for *Aristander* to offer up Vows and Prayers. He therefore being cloth'd in white, and carrying sacred Herbs in his Hand, with his Head cover'd, pray'd with the King, who implor'd the Protection of *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, and *Victory*. Afterward having offer'd Sacrifice, according to their Rites, he return'd to his Tent to take his Rest the remainder of the Night. But he could neither sleep nor compose the Disturbance of his Mind. One while he resolv'd to charge the *Persians* Right Wing first, sometimes he thought it best to attack their main Body, and then again he doubted whether it might not be more adviseable to fall upon their Left Wing. At last his Body being tir'd with the Anxiety of his Mind, he fell into a profound Sleep. As soon as it was light, the Officers repair'd to his Tent to receive Orders, and were much surpriz'd at the unusual Silence they found there. For he us'd to send for 'em, and sometimes reprimand their Laziness; they therefore wonder'd, that being on the very brink of Danger, he was not yet stirring; some were of Opinion he did not rest, but shrunk out of Fear: At the same time none of the Guards dar'd to enter the Tent, and yet the Time of Action drew nigh, and the Soldiers did not dare to take to their Arms, or form their Ranks without their General's Orders. *Parmenio* therefore having waited a considerable time, commanded 'em to refresh themselves; and there being a Necessity now for the drawing up of the Army, he went into the Tent, and not being able to wake the King by calling upon him, he touch'd him with his Hand, and told him, *it was broad Day, and the Enemy was advancing towards them in order of Battel, while your Soldiers for want of Orders, are still without their Arms. What is become, Sir, of your wonted Vigor*
of

of Mind? You us'd to prevent the most early. To this Alexander reply'd, Do you think it was possible for me to compose my self to Rest, till I had calm'd the Anxiety of my Thoughts? This said, he commanded him to give the Signal for Battel. But as Parmenio persisted in his Admiration how he could sleep so securely; he told him, there was no reason to wonder at it; for while Darius was burning the Country, destroying the Towns and Villages, and spoiling the Provisions, it was impossible for him to be easie; but now that he prepares to give me Battel, What should I fear? He has now granted me all I desire. However I shall satisfy you farther hereafter as to this Matter, in the mean time every one of you repair to your respective Commands, and I'll be with you presently, and then I'll tell you what you are to do.

He very rarely harken'd to the Admonitions of his Friends when Danger was at hand; however, now having put on his Armor, he came to the Army. The Soldiers had never seen him so chearful before, and they conjectur'd from his undaunted Countenance, that the Day was their own.

The King first of all, order'd 'em to level the Works, and then drew up the Army after this manner. In the Right Wing were those Horse which they call *Agema*, commanded by *Clitus*, to whom he join'd *Philotas's* Troops, and the Cavalry of several other Commanders; the last Regiment was that of *Meleager*, which was next to the *Phalanx*. After the *Phalanx*, were the *Argyraspides*; these were commanded by *Nicanor*, *Parmenio's* Son. *Cænos* with his Troops, were a Body of Reserve; after him were *Orestes* and *Lyncestes*, and next to these *Polypercon*, who commanded the Foreigners. *Amyntas* had the chief Command of this Division. *Philogus* led the *Balacri*, who were lately took into the Alliance. This was the Disposition of the Right

M 2

Wing.

Wing. In the Left was *Craterus* with the *Peloponnesian* Horse, and with him were also the *Achians*, *Locrensiens*, and *Malaans* : These were clos'd by the *Theffalian* Horse, commanded by *Philip*. The Foot were cover'd by the Horse. This was the Order of the Left Wing. Now that he might not be surrounded by the Multitude, *he* had posted a strong Body of Reserve in the Rear, and had on the Wings, Troops in readiness to relieve in such a Case ; not fronting as the rest of the Army did, but on the Flanks, that in case the Enemy endeavour'd to surround 'em, they might be ready to engage them. Here were posted the *Agrianians*, commanded by *Attalus*, as also the *Cretan* Archers. The Ranks in the Rear, were to front outwardly, that the Army might be secure every way. Here were the *Illyrians*, with the *Mercenaries*, and the Light-arm'd *Thracians*. In fine, he had so dispos'd his Army, that it fronted every way, and was ready to engage on all Sides, if attempted to be encompass'd : Thus the Front was not better secur'd than the Flanks, nor the Flanks better provided for than the Rear.

He order'd 'em, That in case the Barbarians let loose their arm'd Chariots with Shouts among 'em, to open to the Right and Left, and let them silently pass by, being well assur'd they would do no Mischief if they were not oppos'd in their Passage. But if they sent them upon 'em without shouting, that then they should terrify them with their Conclamations, and stick the affrighted Horses with their Darts. They that commanded the Wings, were order'd to extend 'em as much as they could, without leaving the Center too thin, that they might not by too close an Order be in Danger of being surrounded. The Baggage and the Prisoners (amongst whom were *Darius's* Mother and Children) were plac'd on a rising Ground not far from the Army, with
a mo-

a moderate Guard. The Left was commanded by *Parmenio*, as it us'd to be, and the King himself commanded the Right. The Armies were not come within the Cast of their Darts, when *Bion* a Deserter came riding on full speed to the King, and acquainted him, that *Darius* had planted Iron Caltrops all over that Ground where he expected the Macedonian Horse, and by a certain Sign, shew'd him the Place, that his Men might avoid it. *Alexander* having order'd the Deserter to be secur'd, call'd together his Generals, and imparted the Information to 'em, requiring them to decline that Place, and to acquaint their Men with the Danger. However, it was impossible for the whole Army to hear this, the Noise of both Armies taking away the Use of the Ears, so that *Alexander* riding about spoke to the Captains and those that were next him, in the following manner,

C H A P. XIV.

YOU that have march'd through so many Countries in hopes of the Victory, for which you are going to fight, have now but this single Danger left to encounter with. Then he reminded 'em of the River *Granicus*, and the *Cilician Mountains*; that *Syria* and *Egypt* had been conquered by 'em, with only passing through the same, which were so many Encouragements and Pledges of their future Glory. That the *Persians* were Fugitives; rally'd together in their Flight; and would only fight now, because they could not fly any farther. That this was the third Day they had lain under their Arms, trembling and almost dead with Fear, without daring to make the least motion. That there could not be a greater Demonstration of their Despair, than their

M 3. burning

burning their Towns and Countrey; by that very Procedure acknowledging all to be the Enemies that they could not destroy. That the empty Names of unknown Nations, ought not in the least to terrify 'em, for it was of no moment to the War, who they call'd Scythians or Caducians: It being plain from their being unknown, that they are insignificant People; since it is impossible brave Men should lie buried in Obscurity and Oblivion; whereas Cowards, when forc'd from their lurking Retreats, bring into the Field nothing but a barbarous Title. As for the Macedonians, they have so signaliz'd their Virtue, that there is not the least Corner of the Earth that is ignorant of their Glory. Do but behold the uncouth Appearance of the Barbarians, how sorrily they are arm'd! Some of 'em have only a Dart, others a Sling to cast Stones, while very few of 'em have proper Arms. Therefore, notwithstanding the Enemy be superior in Number of Men, yet you have the Advantage of Soldiers. Moreover, he did not require 'em to exert their Bravery, unless he encouraged 'em by his Example. He assur'd 'em, he would fight in Person before the Colours, and that he should esteem the Wounds he there receiv'd, as so many Ornaments to his Body. That they knew very well themselves, that all partook of the Booty, except himself. That he made no other Use of the Rewards of his Victories, than to adorn and honour them with them. This was what he thought fit to say to the gallant and brave. But if there were any amongst 'em of a different Disposition, He must acquaint them, that they were now advanc'd so far, that it was impossible to fly: That having behind them such vast Countreys, so many Rivers and Mountains to oppose them, there was no Passage open to their own Homes, but what they should make themselves Sword in Hand.

Thus he animated the Captains, thus he encouraged the Soldiers who were near him.

Darius

Darius was on the Left Wing of his Army, having with him a strong Guard of chosen Horse and Foot, and despis'd the small Number of the Enemy; judging, that by their extending their Wings to the utmost, their main Body must needs stand very thin. Being therefore seated aloft in his Chariot, he address'd himself both by Looks and Gesture, to the Troops that were about him on the Right and Left; telling them, *That we who were a little while since, Lords of all the Countreys between the Ocean and the Hellespont, are now reduc'd to fight, not for Glory, but for Safety; nay, for what we even prefer to our Safety, our Liberty. This Day will either restore, or put an End to the largest Empire the World has seen. At the River Granicus we engag'd the Enemy with an inconsiderable Part of our Forces: when we were overcome in Cilicia, we had Syria to repair to, and the Tigris and Euphrates were as Bulwarks to our Dominions. Now we are got where there is no room left for Flight, every thing behind our Backs being exhausted by the Continuance of the War. The Towns are dispeopl'd, and there are not Hands to cultivate the Earth: Our Wives and Children also follow the Army, and will certainly fall a Prey to the Enemy, if we are backward in exposing our Lives for those dear Pledges. As for what depended on me, I have taken Care to have such an Army as the largest Plains are hardly able to contain. I have furnish'd it with Horses and Arms, and have taken Care to supply it with Provisions, and have chosen such a Place to fight in, where all our Forces may be display'd. The rest depends on your selves, do but dare to conquer and the Work is done. Renown and Fame are but weak Arms against brave Men, therefore do not regard 'em in the Enemy. For it is his Rashness you have hitherto fear'd, and mistaken for Courage; which when its first Fury is spent, becomes languid and dull, like those Ani-*

mals that have lost their Stings. These spacious Fields discover the small Number of the Enemy; which the Cilician Mountains hide. You see how thin their Ranks are, how their Wings are stretch'd out, their Center is in a manner vacant; as for the Rear, they seem by their facing outwards to be ready to run away; they may be trod to death by the Horses, tho' I were barely to send my arm'd Chariots among 'em. If we gain this Battel it puts an end to the War, for they have no Place to escape to; they are enclos'd between the Tigris and the Euphrates: What before was Advantageous to them, is now become a Nuisance. Our Army is light and ready on all Occasions, theirs is loaded with Booty. They are, as it were, entangled in our Spoils, so that we may kill 'em with ease. The same Things shall be both the cause of our Victory and its reward. If any of you are startled at the Renown of the Nation, think with yourselves, that only their Arms are there, and not their Persons; for a great deal of Blood has been spilt on both Sides, and in a small Number the Loss is soonest felt. As for Alexander, how great soever he may appear to the Cowardly and Fearful, he is still but one Individual; and, in my Opinion, both rash and foolish. Now nothing can be lasting that is not supported by Reason, and though he seems to be successful, yet at long run he'll pay for his Temerity. Besides, the Turns and Revolutions of Things are of short Duration, there is no such thing as an unmix'd Felicity. Perhaps it is the Will of the Gods, that the Persian Empire (which by a Series of Success for these two hundred and thirty Years, has rais'd it self to the highest pitch of Grandure) should receive this violent Shock without being Overthrown, to put us in mind of human Frailty, of which we are too forgetful in Prosperity. A little while ago we our
selves

selfes carried the War into Greece, and now we are forc'd to drive it from our own Country : Thus we are toss'd by the mutability of Fortune, for one Nation is not capable of the Empire we both affect ; but admitting we were destitute of Hopes, yet Necessity ought to animate us, our Case is so deplorable. My Mother, Daughters, and Son Ochus (who was born with a Right to succeed in the Empire) together with several Princes descended from Royal Blood, and your Generals, who were like so many Kings, all wear his Chains ; nay, I my self am more than half a Captive, unless you exert your selves : Free my Bowels from their Bondage, restore to me those dear Pledges, (for which I am willing my self to die) my Mother and Children, for I have lost my Wife in that Prison. Think with your selves how they all reach out their Hands to you, implore the Assistance of the Gods, beg your Help, Pity and Fidelity, to deliver 'em from Servitude, Fetters, and a precarious way of living. Can you believe they are easie under those they would hardly vouchsafe to command ? But I perceive the Enemy approaches, and the nearer the Danger draws the less am I satisfy'd with what I have said. I conjure you then by the Tutelar Gods of our Countrey, by the eternal Fire that is carry'd before us on Altars, by the Splendour of the Sun that rises within the limits of my Empire, by the everlasting Memory of Cyrus, who transfer'd the Empire from the Medes and Lydians to the Persians, to free our Name and Nation from the utmost Disgrace. Fall on chearfully, and full of Hopes, that you may transmit to Posterity the Glory you have receiv'd from your Predecessors. You carry in your Right Hands your Liberty, Relief, and all our future Hopes : Whoever despises Death is least liable to it, the fearful only fall a prey to it. I ride in a Chariot, not only to comply with the Custom of my Country,

but also that I may be the better seen by all ; and I am not against your imitating of me, according as I give you an Example either of Fortitude or Cowardice.

C H A P. XV.

IN the mean time *Alexander*, that he might avoid the Place of Ambuscade, discover'd by the Defenter, fetch'd a Compass ; and that he might encounter with *Darius*, who led the Left Wing, caus'd his Army to march in an oblique Line. *Darius* also on his side advanc'd towards him, and commanded *Bessus* to charge *Alexander's* Left Wing with the *Massagetan Horse* in the Flank. He had before him the arm'd Chariots, which upon the Signal given, broke in furiously amongst the Enemy, and were driven with a loose Rein, that by the suddenness of the Surprize they might do the greater Execution ; some were destroy'd by the Pikes that stuck out at the end of the Poles, and others were cut to pieces by the Scythes plac'd on each side.

The *Macedonians* did not give way gradually, but taking to their Heels confounded their Ranks ; and *Mazeus* perceiving their Disorder, that he might strike the greater fear into 'em, sent a thousand Horse to plunder their Baggage, thinking that the Captives that were guarded with it would, at the approach of their Friends, break loose and make their escape. *Parmenio*, who was in the Left Wing, was not insensible of what was doing, he therefore immediately dispatch'd *Polydamus* to the King, to acquaint him with the Danger, and know his Pleasure upon this Occasion. The King having heard *Polydamus*, made this answer, Tell *Parmenio*,

Parmenio, *that if we get the Day, we shall not only recover our own, but also be Masters of all the Enemy has ; and therefore let him not weaken the Army on that Account, but continue fighting Manfully ; and after mine, and my Father Philip's Example, despise the loss of the Baggage.*

In the mean time the *Barbarians* were pillaging the Camp, and having kill'd a great many of those that guarded it, the Prisoners broke their Chains, and arming themselves with what came next to their Hands, they join'd the Horse, and fell also upon the *Macedonians*, who were now in a doubtful Condition : Some of the Prisoners ran for joy to *Sisigambis*, and told her *Darius* had got the Victory ; that a mighty Slaughter had been made of the Enemies, who were at last stripp'd of all their Baggage and Booty ; for they concluded the *Persians* had every where the same Fortune, and were now as Conquerors running about for Plunder : And notwithstanding they would fain have prevail'd with *Sisigambis* to moderate her Grief, yet she remain'd in the same State as before, without speaking one Word, or changing her Countenance, but sat as if she were immoveable (and seem'd to be afraid by too early a Joy to provoke Fortune) insomuch that the standers by could not make any Judgment of her Inclinations.

While these Things were doing, *Amyntas*, one of *Alexander's* Collonels of Horse, came to the Assistance of those that guarded the Baggage, whether of his own Motion, or by the King's Orders is uncertain ; but he was soon oblig'd to retire to *Alexander*, not being able to sustain the Shock of the *Cadusians* and *Scythians*, having been rather a Witness of the loss of the Baggage than a Rescuer. *Alexander* upon this was so transported with Grief, that he knew not what to resolve upon, he began to fear, and not without cause, lest the concern

for the loss of their Booty might draw the Soldiers from the Fight ; *he* therefore sent *Aretes* with the Pikemen call'd *Saristophori*, against the *Scythians*. By this time the Chariots having put the first Ranks into Confusion, were drove against the *Phalanx*, the *Macedonians* were so far from being dishearten'd at this, that they open'd to the Right and Left, according to their former Instructions, and made a Lane for 'em to pass through ; and standing in close Order like a Bulwark, stuck the Horses with their Pikes as they went at random, and then surrounding the Chariots, brought headlong down those that defended 'em. Here was so great a slaughter made of Horses and their Drivers, that it quite fill'd and choak'd up that space ; the Drivers could now no longer guide the affrighted Cattle, and the Horses, by their kicking and flinging, had not only broke their Traces, but also overturn'd the Chariots, and being wounded, dragg'd after them the Men that were slain, neither being able to stand still for their fright, nor to advance, being faint with the loss of Blood. However, a few of these Chariots pierc'd clear through to the Rear, and mangled the Bodies of those they fell amongst, after a most deplorable manner, the Ground was strew'd with their dissected Limbs ; and as they were heated, and their Wounds fresh, they were not sensible of much Pain, so that notwithstanding their maim'd and weak Condition, they did not let their Arms drop till by excessive bleeding they fell down dead. In the mean time *Aretes* having kill'd the Captain of the *Scythians* that were pillaging the Baggage, press'd hard upon 'em, but the *Bactrians* coming seasonably to their Assistance, turn'd the fortune of the Fight again : A great many *Macedonians* were trampled under foot in the very first Charge, the rest fled back to *Alexander* ; hereupon the

Persians gave such a Shout as Victors are us'd to give, and rush'd furiously on the Enemy, as if their Defeat had been universal.

Alexander therefore check'd those that were frighten'd, and encourag'd 'em, and renew'd himself the Fight, that began to grow languid. Thus having inspir'd 'em with fresh Vigour, he commanded 'em to charge the Enemy. The *Persians* Right Wing was very much weaken'd by the Detachment of *Bactrians* which were sent to seize the Baggage; *Alexander* therefore attack'd their loose Ranks, and made a great Slaughter of the Enemy, which being perceiv'd by the *Persians* Left Wing, and thinking they had it in their Power to surround *Alexander*, they fell upon his Rear. Here the King had been in great Danger, as being in the middle of his Enemies, if the *Agrian* Cavalry had not clapt Spurs to their Horses, and charg'd the *Barbarians* that surrounded him, and by that means forc'd 'em to face about to defend themselves.

The Troops were hard put to it on both Sides, for *Alexander* had the Enemy both before and behind; and those who attack'd his Rear were themselves very much press'd by the *Agrian* Forces: The *Bactrians* also, who were now return'd from pillaging the Baggage, could not recover their Post, and several Battalions separated from the rest, fought with the next of the Enemies that came in their way. The two Kings, who were now near one another, encourag'd their respective Troops; a greater Number of *Persians* were slain, the Number of the wounded was almost equal. *Darius* was in a Chariot, and *Alexander* on Horseback; they were both guarded by select Soldiers that had not the least thought of themselves, for if their King fell they neither would, nor could be safe, and they look'd upon it as a noble Thing to

to die in the presence of their Sovereign; and those were expos'd to the greatest Danger, who exerted themselves most for the Preservation of the *King*, whom they guarded; for every one coveted the Honour of killing the Prince of the adverse Party. Now whether it was an Illusion of the Eyes, or a Reality, they who were about *Alexander* thought they saw an *Eagle* hovering over the *King's* Head, no wise terrify'd either by the Noise of the Arms, or the Groans of the dying Men, and appear'd a long time about *Alexander's* Horse, rather suspended in the Air than flying. It is certain, *Aristander* having put on his white Garment, and carrying a Lawrel in his Hand, shew'd this Sight to the Soldiers, who were attentive to the Fight, as an infallible token of the Victory. They were then animated with fresh Courage and Assurance, who before were drooping, and their Alacrity encreas'd when *Darius's* Charioteer was slain; neither did the *Persians* or *Macedonians* doubt but the *King* himself was killed. Hereupon *Darius's* Relations and Attendants disturb'd the whole Army (which till then fought with almost equal Advantage) with mournful Howlings, and barbarous Cries and Lamentations. This caus'd those on the Left to take to their Heels, and desert the Chariot, which those on the Right receiv'd immediately into the middle of their Division. It is said, *Darius* having drawn his Sword, was unresolv'd, whether he ought not to avoid a shameful Flight by an honourable Death. But perceiving, as he sat aloft in his Chariot, that some part of his Army still maintain'd the Fight, he was asham'd to leave 'em destitute of a Head. While he remain'd thus between Hope and Despair, the *Persians* gave way by little and little, and broke their Order. *Alexander* mounting a fresh Horse (for he had already tir'd several)

continu'd

continu'd sticking those that resisted him in the Face, and those that fled from him in the Back : By this time it was no longer a Fight, but a perfect Massacre, and *Darius* himself turn'd his Chariot to make the best of his Way. The Victors pursu'd the routed, but the Clouds of Dust that rose up to the very Skies, intercepted their Sight, so that they wander'd like Men in the Dark, rallying now and then at the sound of a known Voice as at a Signal. It is true, the noise of the Reins with which they struck the Horses that drew *Darius's* Chariot, were sometimes heard by 'em, which was all the Footsteps they had to pursue him by.

C H A P. XVI.

BUT in the *Macedonians* Left Wing, which was commanded by *Parmenio*, as we said before, the Success of both Parties was very different: for *Mazeus* with all his Cavalry charg'd furiously the *Macedonian* Horse, and press'd hard upon 'em, and as he was much superior in Number, began to surround the Foot : When *Parmenio* dispatch'd Messengers to the King to let him know the Danger they were in on that Side, and that unless they were speedily succour'd, they should of necessity be forc'd to fly. *Alexander* had pursu'd the Enemy a considerable way when this melancholy News was brought him ; hereupon he stopt both Horse and Foot, and in a Rage cry'd out, That the Victory was snatch'd out of his Hands, and that *Darius* was more fortunate in his Flight than he in his Pursuit. In the mean time the Account of the King's Defeat had reach'd *Mazeus*, who thereupon (notwithstanding he was much the stronger) did not press now so violently on the
Macedonians :

Macedenians : *Parmenio* was altogether ignorant why the Fight slacken'd, however, he laid hold of the Opportunity like an experienc'd General, and having call'd to him the *Thessalian* Horse, he said to 'em, *Do you not see how those who a little while ago bore so furiously down upon us, being suddenly terrify'd, grow slow in their Attacks ? For certain it is our King's Fortune that also gives us the Victory. The Field is cover'd with slaughter'd Persians ; why are you idle ? Are you not a Match for 'em even now that you see them ready to fly ?*

What he said seem'd so probable that they resum'd fresh Courage, and clapping Spurs to their Horses, charg'd the Enemy vigorously, who now no longer gave way by little and little, but retreated so fast that nothing was wanting to make it a perfect Flight, but that they did not as yet turn their Backs. However, as *Parmenio* was still ignorant how it far'd with the King, he kept his Men Back ; by this means *Mazeus* had time given him to fly, he therefore repass'd the *Tigre*, not the nearest Way, but fetching a great Compass, and for that Reason with the greater Safety, and came to *Babylon* with the broken Remains of the routed Army. *Darius* made towards the River *Licus*, with a few that accompany'd him in his Flight, and having pass'd the same, was wavering whether he ought not to cause the Bridge to be broke, for he was inform'd the Enemy would soon be there. But then again, he consider'd the many thousands of his Men that were not yet come to the River, and would, if the Bridge were broke, certainly fall a prey to the Enemy : He therefore left it standing, and declar'd as he went away, *That he had much rather leave a Passage to them that pursu'd him, than deprive those of it that fled after him.* And having travell'd over
a vast.

a vast Tract of Ground, *he* reach'd *Arbela* about Midnight. Who can imagine or comprehend even in Thought the various sporting Turns of Fortune here, the havock that was made of both Officers and Soldiers ; the Flight of the Vanquish'd, the private Slaughters and universal Massacres ? Fortune seems in this single Day to have heap'd together the Occurrence of a whole Age. Some took the shortest Way, while others fled thro' the Woods, and sav'd themselves by private Ways unknown to the Pursuers : There was a confus'd mixture of Horse and Foot without Leaders, of the arm'd with the unarm'd, and of the sound with the infirm and wounded.

But at last Fear getting the better of Compassion, those that could not keep pace with the rest in the Flight, were left behind bewailing their mutual Calamities ; the fatigu'd and wounded were parch'd up with Thirst, to relieve which they flung themselves prostrate on the Banks of every Stream, and swallow'd the Water with insatiable Greediness, which being muddy, presently swell'd their Intrals ; and their Limbs being relax'd and numm'd therewith, the Enemy overtook 'em, and rous'd 'em up with fresh Wounds. Some finding the neighbouring Brooks taken up by others, straggled farther that they might drain every Place of what Water they could find ; there was not so out of the way, or dry a Puddle, that could escape the Drought of the thirsty Searchers. The Villages near the Road resounded with the Cries and Lamentations of the old People of both Sexes, who after their barbarous manner still call'd upon *Darius* as their King.

Alexander having check'd his Pursuit, (as we said before) was come to the River *Licus*, where he found the Bridge loaded with a multitude of the flying Enemy ; a great many whereof, finding they

they were closely pursu'd, cast themselves into the River, and being encumber'd with their Arms, and tir'd with the Action and their Flight, were swallow'd up by its rapid Stream. In a little time, not only the Bridge could not contain the Fugitives, but even the River itself was crowded with 'em, by their indiscreet casting themselves upon one another; *for when once Fear had seiz'd their Minds, they valu'd nothing, but what caus'd that Fear.*

Alexander being entreated by his Followers, not to suffer the Enemy to escape with Impunity, alledg'd for Excuse of this Permission, *That their Weapons were blunted, their Arms tir'd, and their Bodies spent with so long a Chase, besides all which, Night was coming on.* But in reality, he was in Pain for his Left Wing, (which he thought was still engag'd) and so was resolv'd to return to its Assistance. He had hardly fac'd about, when Messengers came to him from *Parmenio* with the agreeable News, that his part of the Army was also Victorious. He was never in greater Danger during the whole Day, than upon his return to the Camp: There was but a small Number with him, and they were not in Order, but careless, transported with the Victory; for they concluded all the Enemy's Army was either fled, or slain: However, contrary to their Expectation, all on the sudden there appear'd a Body of *Persian* Horie, which at first halted; but having discover'd the inconsiderable Number of the *Macedonians*, they charg'd 'em vigorously. The King rid at the Head of his Men, rather dissembling, than despising the Danger: But here again he was attended by his usual Prosperity; for the *Persian* Commander coming against him with more Fury than Discretion, the King run him through with his Spear, and afterwards dealt the like Usage to several others who
came

came in his way. His Friends likewise fell upon the Enemy, who was now in Disorder. On the other side, the *Persians* did not die unreveng'd; for the whole Armies did not engage more eagerly than these tumultuary Troops: At last, it being duskish, they thought it more advisable to fly, than to continue the Fight, and therefore made their Escape in different Troops.

The King having clear'd himself of this imminent Danger, brought his Men safe to the Camp. There fell of the *Persians* this Day, according to what Account the Victors could take, Forty thousand, and of the *Macedonians* less than Three hundred. This Victory was owing more to the King's Bravery, than Fortune: Here it was his Courage, and not the Advantage of Ground, that conquer'd. He had drawn up his Army most skilfully, and fought himself most gallantly. He shew'd the highest Wisdom in despising the Loss of the Baggage and Booty, since all depended on the Issue of the Battel; and notwithstanding the Event was yet undetermin'd, he even then behav'd himself like a Conqueror. Then having struck a Terror into the Enemy, he afterwards routed 'em; and which is to be wonder'd at in so violent a Temper, he pursu'd 'em with more Prudence than Eagerness: For had he continu'd his Pursuit, while one part of his Army was still engag'd, he had either run the risque of being overcome through his own Fault, or had been indebted to another for the Victory; or had he been dishearten'd at the sudden Appearance of the Body of Horse that fell upon him as he return'd to his Camp, he must either, tho' a Conqueror, have shamefully fled, or perish'd miserably.

Neither ought his Officers to be defrauded of their due Praise, for the Wounds they receiv'd
were

were so many Tokens of their Bravery. *Hephaestion* was run thro' the Arm with a Spear, *Perdiccas*, *Cæsus* and *Menidas* were almost kill'd with Arrows: And if we will make a true Judgment of *Macedonians*, at that time we must own, *That the King was worthy of such Subjects, and they of so great a King.*



QUINTUS



QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.



ERE I now to relate what was transacted in the same Space of time either in *Greece, Illyrium, or Thrace*, by *Alexander's* Conduct or Appointment, according to their ordinal Occurrence, I should be forc'd to interrupt the Series of the Affairs of *Asia*, which I think more proper to represent entirely, with the same Connexion and Order in my Work, as they hold in respect to the Time of their Performance, down to the Flight and Death of *Darius*. I shall therefore begin with those things that happen'd after the Fight of *Arbela*, where *Darius* arriv'd about Midnight, as did also great part of his Friends and Soldiers, whom Fortune had guided thither in their Flight. *Darius* having therefore call'd them together, told 'em, *That he did not doubt but Alexander would repair*
to

to those Cities and Counties that were most celebrated for Riches and Plenty of all things. That he and his Soldiers had now no other Thoughts but of enriching themselves with the noble Spoils that lay expos'd to 'em. That this would be of great use to himself in his present Circumstances, since he should thereby have time with an unincumber'd Body of Men, to retire to the Desarts : And as the remote Parts of his Dominions were still untouch'd, he might easily there raise fresh Forces to prosecute the War withal. Let 'em there rifle my Treasures which they have so long thirsted after ; these will but make them the easier Prey to me for the future ; for I have found by Experience that rich Furniture, and a great Train of Concubines and Eunuchs, are only so many Impediments and Clogs, which, when Alexander shall draw after him, he'll be inferiour to those he has overcome.

This Speech appear'd to all that heard it full of Despair, for they plainly saw thereby, that he yielded up the wealthy City of Babylon, and that the Conqueror would also take Possession of Susa, and the other Ornaments of the Kingdom, which were the Cause of the War. But he continu'd to represent to 'em, *That in Adversity fine Speeches were of no use, but only those that were suitable to the present Exigency of Affairs. That the War was to be made with Iron, and not with Gold : With Men, not with City Houses : And that all things follow'd those that were arm'd. That his Predecessors had after this manner recover'd their primitive Grandeur, though they had been unfortunate at first. Therefore whether he by this Speech gave 'em fresh Courage, or that they respected his Sovereignty more than they approv'd his Counsel, he enter'd the Borders of Media : A little while after Arbela, which was full of the Royal Furniture and Treasure, was surrender'd to Alexander. Here were found four thousand*

thousand Talents ; besides which, the Wealth of the whole Army was lodg'd here.

The King soon decamp'd from hence, being forc'd thereto by the Sickness that began to infect his Army, occasion'd by the Stench of the dead Bodies that almost cover'd all the Field.

In his March he had on his Left the plain Country of *Arabia*, so much celebrated for its odoriferous Products. The Lands that lie between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates* are said to be so fruitful and rich that the Inhabitants are forc'd to check the Cattle in their Pasturage for fear they should kill themselves by Surfeits. The Cause of this Fertility proceeds from these two Rivers, which communicate their Waters throughout the whole Territory by the hidden Veins in the Earth. Both these Rivers have their Source in the Mountains of *Armenia*, and afterwards dividing themselves, continue their different Courses. Their greatest Distance about the Mountains of *Armenia* is by those who have measur'd it, reported to be two thousand five hundred Furlongs. These Rivers, when they begin to cut their way through the Lands of *Media* and *Gordia*, by degrees draw nearer to one another ; and the farther they run, the narrower is the Interval between them. They are nearest each other in those Plains which are by the Inhabitants call'd *Mesopotamia*, which lies between 'em ; from whence they continue their Course through the *Babylonian* Borders, and at last empty themselves into the *Red Sea*.

Alexander in four days came to the City call'd *Memnis* : Here there is a Cave which has in it a Fountain that emits a vast Quantity of bituminous Matter, so that it is probable enough, the Walls of *Babylon*, which are a prodigious Work, are cemented with that Matter.

As *Alexander* was continuing his March towards *Babylon*, *Mazeus* (who had fled thither from the Battel) came with his Children that were at the Age of Maturity, and surrender'd himself and the Town to the *King*. His Submission was very acceptable to the *King*, by reason the Siege of so strong a Place must of necessity have been tedious. Beside this, his Quality and Bravery were very considerable, and he had but lately distinguish'd himself in the last great Action, and whose Example would be a great Inducement to others to imitate him. The *King* therefore receiv'd him and his Children very graciously: however he form'd his Army which *he* led in Person into a Square, commanded 'em to enter the Town in that Order, as if they had been going to an Engagement. The Walls were fill'd with *Babylonians* who flock'd thither, eager to behold their new *Sovereign*; but the greatest part went out to meet him. Among these were *Bagophanes* Governor of the Castle, and Keeper of the *King's* Treasure, who was unwilling to be outdone in Zeal by *Mazeus*. The Road was strew'd all over with Flowers and Garlands, and adorn'd on each Side with Silver Altars, which were fill'd, not only with Frankincense, but all manner of Perfumes. He was follow'd by the Presents he design'd the *King*, viz. Drove of Cattle and Horses, with Lyons and Leopards in strong Cages for that Purpose. These were follow'd by the *Magi* singing Hymns after the manner of the Countrey. After these came the *Chaldeans*, and not only the *Babylonian* Prophets, but also the Musicians with their respective Instruments: These are us'd to sing the Prince's Praise; and the *Chaldeans* are addicted to the Consideration of the Motions of the Planets, and declare the Vicissitudes of the Seasons. These were clos'd by the *Babylonian* Cavalry, whose rich Cloathing and Furniture,

Furniture, for themselves and their Horses, denoted Luxury rather than Magnificence. The *King* commanded the Multitude of Town's People to follow in the Rear of his Foot, and being encompass'd by his Guards, enter'd the City in a Chariot, and then repair'd to the *Palace*. The next Day *he* took a View of *Darius's* Furniture, and all his Treasure. The Beauty and Antiquity of the Place attracted not only *Alexander's* Eyes but likewise those of all that beheld it. *Semiramis* founded it, or, as a great many affirm, *Belus*, whose Palace is still to be seen. The Walls are made of Brick, and cemented with Bitumen, and are thirty two Foot in breadth; so that two Chariots that met, might safely pass by each other: They were one hundred Cubits in highth, and the Towers that were at certain Distances, were ten Foot higher than the Walls. The Compass of the whole Work took up three hundred sixty eight Furlongs: It is said that each Furlong was finish'd in a single Day. The Buildings are not contiguous to the Walls, but at the Distance of an Acre from them: Nay the City is not wholly taken up with Houses, but only ninety Furlongs thereof, nor do all the Houses join to one another; as I suppose, because it was judg'd safer to have 'em scatter'd up and down in several Places. The rest is sow'd and plough'd, that in case of a Siege the Inhabitants may be supply'd with Corn within themselves. The *Euphrates* runs through the City, and is kept in on both sides by very strong Banks, which are themselves a prodigious Work: But these have behind 'em large and deep Caves, to receive the rapid Streams, which otherwise, when they rise above the Banks, would be apt to bear down the Houses, if it were not for these subterraneous Receptacles. These Caves are also lin'd with Brick, and cemented with Bitumen.

men. The two Parts of the Town have a Communication with each other by a Stone-Bridge, built over the River, which too is rank'd amongst the Wonders of the East. For as the *Euphrates* carries with it a very deep Mud, which makes it very difficult to clear its Channel so perfectly as to find a firm Foundation. Moreover the great Heaps of Sand that gather about the Pillars that support the Bridge stop the Course of the Water, which being by that Confinement check'd, beats more furiously against it than it would do if it had a free Passage. The Castle is twenty Furlongs in circumference; the Towers are thirty Foot deep within the Ground, and eighty Foot in highth above it. On the Top of the Castle are the Penfile Gardens, so much celebrated by the *Greek* Poets; they are of equal highth with the Walls of the Town, and are mighty pleasant both on the account of their shady Groves and the Tallness of the Trees that grow there. This bulky Work is supported by Pillars, over which there runs a Pavement of square Stone, able to bear the Earth which is laid upon it to a great depth, and the Water with which it is irrigated. This Pile carries Trees of so large a dimension, that their Boles are eight Cubits about, and fifty Foot in highth, and altogether as fruitful as if they grew in their natural Soil. Now notwithstanding time preys by little and little, not only on artificial Works, but even upon Nature herself; yet this huge Pile which is pester'd with the Roots of so many Trees, and loaded with the weight of so large a Grove, remains still entire. It is supported by twenty large Walls, distant eleven Foot from one another, so that they who behold these Groves at a distance would take 'em to be so many Woods growing upon their Mountains. It is reported that a *King* of *Syria* reigning in *Babylon*, contriv'd
this

this mighty work to gratify his *Queen*, who being wonderfully delighted with Woods and Forests in the open Fields, persuaded her Husband to imitate the Beauties of Nature in this Work.

The *King* resided longer here than he had done any where: nor could there be any Place more destructive of *military Discipline*. Nothing can be more corrupt than the Manners of this City, nor better provided with all the Requisites to stir up and promote all sorts of Debauchery and Lewdness: for Parents and Husbands suffer their Children and Wives to prostitute themselves to their Guests, if they are but paid for the Crime. The *Kings* and *Noblemen* of *Persia* take great Delight in licentious Entertainments: And the *Babylonians* are very much addicted to Wine, and the Consequences of Drunkenness. The Women in the Beginning of their Feasts are modestly clad; then after some time, they lay aside their upper Garment, and violate their Modesty by degrees; at last (without Offence be it spoken) they fling away even their lower Apparel: Nor is this the infamous Practice of the *Courtizans* only, but likewise of the *Matrons* and their Daughters, who look upon this vile Prostitution of their Bodies as an Act of Complaisance. It is reasonable to think that that victorious Army, which had conquer'd *Asia*, having wallow'd thirty four Days in all kind of Lewdness and Debauchery, would have found itself much weaken'd, for any following Engagements, if an *Enemy* had presented it self: But that the Damage might be less sensible, it was from time to time as it were renew'd with fresh Recruits: For *Amyntas* the Son of *Andromenes*, brought from *Antipater* six thousand *Macedonian* Foot, and five hundred Horse of the same Nation; and with these six hundred *Thracian* Horse, and three thousand five hundred of

that Countrey's Foot. There came also from *Peloponnesus* four thousand mercenary Foot, and three hundred and eighty Horse. The said *Amyn-tas* likewise brought him fifty young Gentlemen of the Nobility of *Macedonia* to serve as Guards of his Person. Their Office is to serve the King at Table, and attend him with Horses when he goes upon Action; to accompany him a hunting, and do Duty by turns at his Chamber-Door: It is here they learn the first Rudiments of War, and lay as it were the Foundation of their future Preferment to be Generals in the Army, or Governors of Provinces.

The King having appointed *Agathon* Governor of the Castle of *Babylon*, assigning him seven hundred *Macedonians* and three hundred *Mercenaries* for that Purpose; left the Government of the Territory and City to *Menetes* and *Apollodorus*, allotting them a Garrison of two thousand Foot and one thousand Talents, commanding both to make new Levies to recruit the Army. He gave to *Mazaas*, who came over to him, the Superintendency of *Babylon*; and order'd *Bagophanes*, who had surrendr'd the Castle to him, to follow him. He gave the Government of *Armenia* to *Mithrenes*, who had yielded up *Sardis*. Out of the Money found in *Babylon* he order'd every *Macedonian* Trooper six hundred *Denarii*, and five hundred to every foreign Trooper, and to every Foot Soldier two hundred.

CHAP. II.

Alexander having settl'd things after this manner, march'd into the Country, call'd *Satrapene*: The Soil whereof being fruitful, and affording

fording plenty of all kinds of Provisions, *he* stay'd here the longer : And that Idleness might not impair the Courage of his Soldiers, he appointed Judges, and propos'd Prizes to those that should distinguish themselves in military Exercises. Those Eight that should be judg'd the bravest, were each to be made Collonels of a thousand Men, and were call'd *Chiliarchæ*. This was the first Institution of Regiments of this Number, for they before consisted but of five hundred, and did not use to be the Reward of Bravery. A great Number of Soldiers flock'd hither to behold the noble Spectacle, and at the same time were so many Judges of the Behaviour of each Contender, and also of the Justice of the Sentence of the Judges themselves ; since it was impossible to conceal whether the Honour was bestow'd on the account of Merit, or out of Favour. The first Prize was adjudg'd to *Adarchias* the Elder, who had been chiefly instrumental in renewing the Fight at *Halicarnassus*, where the young Soldiers gave ground : The next was given to *Antigenes* : *Philotas Angeus* had the third ; and *Amyntas* obtain'd the fourth : After these *Antigonus* was thought worthy, and next to him *Lyncestes Amyntas* : The seventh Place was awarded to *Theodotus*, and the last to *Hellanicus*.

He also made several useful Alterations in military Discipline, from what had been practis'd by his Predecessors : For whereas before, the Horse were divided into Corps according to their respective Nations, *he* took away this Distinction, and appointed 'em Collonels of his own chusing, without having any regard to their Nations.

It was usual upon a Decampment to give the Signal by Sound of Trumpet, but as very often that was not sufficiently heard, being drown'd by the Noise of the Soldiers in their Hurry : *He* there-

fore order'd that a long Pole for the future should be set over his Tent, from whence the Signal might be observ'd by all, which was Fire in the Night and Smoak in the Day.

As the *King* was on his March to *Susa*, *Abulites*, who was Governor of that Province, sent his Son to meet him on the Road, and assure him he was ready to surrender the Town. It is uncertain whether he did this of his own Accord, or by *Darius's* Order, thereby to amuse *Alexander* with the Booty : However the *King* receiv'd the Youth very graciously, and was conducted by him to the River *Choaspes*, whose Waters are reported to be very sweet and soft. Here *Abulites* met the *King* with Presents of Regal Magnificence : Amongst other things there were *Dromadaries* of an extraordinary Swiftnefs ; twelve *Elephants* brought from *India* by *Darius's* Order ; but were not now a Terror to the *Macedonians*, as they were intended, but a Help : *Fortune* having transferr'd the Riches of the Vanquish'd to the Victor. Having enter'd the Town, he took out of the Treasury a prodigious Sum, viz. fifty thousand Talents of Silver, not coin'd, but in the Wedge and Bar. Several *Kings* had been a long time heaping up these vast Treasures as they thought for their Children, and Posterity, but one single Hour put them all into the Hands of a foreign Prince.

He then seated himself in the Regal Throne, which, being much too high for his Stature, his Feet could not reach the Ground, one of his Pages therefore brought a Table and set it under his Feet. Hereupon one of *Darius's* Eunuchs wept, which the *King* observing, enquir'd into the Cause of his Grief. Then the Eunuch told him, that *Darius* was us'd to eat upon that Table ; and that he could not behold, without shedding Tears, the Table, which was consecrated to his Master's Use,
apply'd

apply'd in a manner so insulting and contemptuous. At these Words the King was seiz'd with a modest Shame, for having violated the Household Gods, and commanded it to be taken away: But Philotas intreated him by no means to do so, but on the contrary to take it as a good Omen, that that Table off of which his Enemy us'd to eat, was now become his Footstool.

Alexander designing now to pass into Persia, gave the Government of Suza to Archelaus, leaving him a Garrison of three thousand Men; Xenophilus had the Charge of the Castle, having with him for Garrison the superannuated Macedonians. The Care of the Treasury was committed to Callicrates, and the Lieutenancy of the County of Suza was restor'd to Abulites. Darius's Mother and Children were likewise left here.

The King receiv'd about this time several Garments, and a great Quantity of Purple from Macedonia, which was sent him as a Present, with the Workers of them; he order'd 'em immediately, to be carry'd to Sizygambis: for he shew'd her all manner of respect, and even paid her the Duty of a Son. He charg'd the Messengers at the same time to tell her, that if the Clothes pleas'd her, she should let her Grand-Children learn to work 'em, and make Presents of 'em. At these Words she fell a weeping, and thereby sufficiently declar'd how unacceptable the Present was to her; for there is nothing the Persian Ladies have more in contempt than even to let their Hands touch Wool. They who carry'd the Presents acquainted him, that Sizygambis seem'd afflicted: The King hereupon thought himself oblig'd to go and comfort her, and excuse himself for his Oversight; which accordingly he did and told her, Mother, the Clothes I now have on, were not only a Present from my Sisters, but also their Work. Our

different Customs led me into my Error : I desire therefore you would not misinterpret my Ignorance. I hope I have hitherto carefully enough observ'd those of your Customs that come to my Knowledge. When I understood it was not the Practice of Persia, for Sons to sit in their Mothers Presence without their Leave first obtain'd, every time I came to visit you, I kept standing, till you signify'd to me I might sit : And whenever you offer'd to fall down in honour of me, I never would suffer it. In fine, as a Token of the perfect Veneration I have for you, I give you always that Title which is only due to my dear Mother Olympias.

C H A P. III.

THE King having reliev'd her Uneasiness after this manner, came in four Encampments to a River, call'd by the Inhabitants *Pasitigris*. It has its rise in the Mountains of the *Uxians*, and continues its Course in a furious manner among the Rocks for the space of fifty Furlongs between its grovy Banks ; after which it runs through the Plains in a smoother Channel, and is navigable ; and having pass'd through a fruitful Soil, for the Space of six hundred Furlongs with a gentle Stream, it empties itself into the *Persian* Sea.

Alexander having pass'd this River with nine thousand Foot, the *Agrians*, mercenary *Greeks*, and three thousand *Thracians*, came into the Country of the *Uxians* ; it borders upon the Territory of *Susa*, and extends it self as far as the Frontiers of *Persia*, leaving but a narrow Passage between it and the *Susians*. *Madates* had the Government of this Country, who was no Time-server, but
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was resolv'd to run all Hazards for the sake of his Allegiance. However, those that were acquainted with the Roads inform'd *Alexander*, *That there was a bye-way through the Mountains, that led to the back side of the City, and therefore if he sent a few light arm'd Men that Way, they might make themselves Masters of a higher Ground than that of the Enemies.*

The King liking the Advice, pitch'd upon those that gave it to serve as Guides to his Men, and order'd *Tauron* with fifteen hundred Mercenaries, and about a thousand *Agrians* to execute it, and set out after the Sun was down. As for himself, he decamp'd at the third Watch, and about break of Day had pass'd the Streights, and having cut down Timber to make Hurdles, and other necessary Engines, to cover those that should advance the Towers, began the Siege of the Place ; here was nothing to be seen but craggy Rocks and Precipices, the Soldiers were therefore repuls'd as not having the Enemy only to encounter with, but also the Difficulties of the Place, notwithstanding which they advanc'd ; for the King was among the first, and would sometimes ask 'em, if having reduc'd so many strong Towns *they were not asham'd to be baffled in the Siege of a small insignificant Castle?* The King was now attack'd at a distance, and not being to be prevail'd upon to withdraw, the Soldiers form'd a Tortoise with their Bucklers to protect him from the Arrows, Darts and Stones that were levell'd at him from the Walls. At length *Tauron* appear'd with his Detachment above the Castle, at whose sight the Enemies Courage began to flag, and the *Macedonians* fought with more vigour. The Townsmen were now attack'd both before and behind, and nothing could stop the Fury of the Enemy ; some few were for dying resolutely, but more were in-

clin'd to fly, and a great Number retir'd into the Castle. From hence they deputed thirty Ambassadors to implore his Mercy, but they receiv'd for answer, *That there was no room for Pardon.* Being therefore seiz'd with the dread of future Torments, they dispatch'd Deputies to *Sisygambis Darius's* Mother, by a private way unknown to the Enemy, to intreat her *to use her Interest with the King in their behalf*, for they were not ignorant that he lov'd and honour'd her as a Parent. They were the more encourag'd to this, because *Madates* had marry'd her Sister's Daughter, and was nearly related to *Darius*. *Sisygambis* refus'd to comply with their Request for a long time, telling them, *That it did not suit with her present Circumstances to turn Intercessor for others, and that she had reason to fear tiring the Clemency of the Conqueror ; besides that, she oftner reflected on her being at present a Captive, than of her having been a Queen.* However, at last being overcome by their Importunity, *she* writ a Letter to *Alexander*, wherein *she* begg'd his Pardon for the Liberty *she* took to intercede for the Besieged, for whom *she* implor'd his Mercy ; and hop'd he would at least forgive her, for soliciting his Indulgence in the behalf of a Friend and Relation, who was now no longer an Enemy, but an humble Suppliant for his Life.

Here now is a remarkable Instance of the King's Moderation and Goodness at this time, for *he* not only at her Request pardon'd *Madates*, but granted to all their Liberty, as well to those that were Captives as those who surrendred themselves, confirming their Immunities : *He* likewise left the Place untouch'd, and permitted 'em to cultivate their Lands Tax free : *She* could not have obtain'd more of *Darius*, tho' her Son, had *he* been Conqueror. *He* afterwards united the *Uxian* Nation to the Government of *Susa* ; then having divided

ded his Army with *Parmenio*, he commanded him to march thro' the flat Countrey, while he with the light arm'd Forces, took his Way along the Mountains, which run in a perpetual Ridge into *Persia*.

Having ravag'd all this Countrey, *he* arriv'd the third Day on the Borders of *Persia*, and on the fifth *he* enter'd the Straits which they call *Pylæ Susidæ*. *Ariobarzanes*, with twenty five thousand Foot, had taken Possession of these Rocks, which were on all sides steep and craggy, on the tops whereof the *Barbarians* kept themselves, being there out of the cast of the Darts. Here they remain'd quiet on purpose, and seem'd to be afraid till the Army was advanc'd within the narrowest part of the Straits; but when they perceiv'd 'em to continue their March as it were in contempt of 'em, they rowl'd down Stones of a prodigious bigness upon 'em, which rebounding often from the lower Rocks fell with the greater force, and not only crush'd single Persons but even whole Companies. They likewise ply'd their Slings and Bows from all Parts; even this did not seem a hardship to these brave Men, but only that they were forc'd to perish unreveng'd, like Beasts taken in a Pit-fall: Upon this their Anger turning into Rage, they caught hold of the Rocks, and helping one another up, did all they could to get to the Enemy; but the parts they laid hold on giving way to the strength of so many Hands, fell upon those that loosen'd them. In these sad Circumstances they could neither stand still nor go forward, nor protect themselves with their Bucklers, by reason of the great size of the Stones the *Barbarians* push'd upon 'em. The King was not only griev'd, but asham'd *he* had so rashly brought his Army into these Straits. Till this Day *he* had been invincible, having never attempted any thing

in vain. *He* had enter'd the Straits of *Cilicia* without damage, and had open'd himself a new Way by Sea into *Pamphylia*, but here that Happiness which had always attended him, seem'd to be at a stand, and there was no other Remedy but to return the same Way he came. Having therefore given the Signal for a Retreat, he commanded the Soldiers to march in close order, and to join their Bucklers over their Heads, and so retire out of the Straits, after they had advanc'd thirty Furlongs within them.

C H A P. IV.

THE *King*, at his Return from the Straits, having pitch'd his Camp in a plain open Ground, not only held a Council on the present Juncture of Affairs, but also was so superstitious as to consult the Priests concerning what was most advisable to be done: But what, in such a Case, could *Aristander* (who was then in greatest Esteem) pretend to foretel? Laying aside therefore the unseasonable Sacrifices, *he* gave Orders to bring to him such Men as were well acquainted with the Countrey; these Men told him of a Way thro' *Media*, which was safe and open, but the *King* was asham'd to leave his Soldiers unbury'd, for there was no Custom more religiously observed amongst the *Macedonians* than that of burying their dead: *He* therefore commanded the Prisoners he had lately taken to be brought before him, among these there was one who was skill'd in both the Greek and Persian Languages; this Man told him, *It was in vain for him to think of leading his Army into Persia, over the tops of the Mountains; that the narrow Ways lay all among Woods, and*
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were hardly passable to single Persons, all the Countrey being cover'd with Woods, which were in a manner united by the intermixture of their Branches. For *Persia* on one side is hemm'd in by a continual ridge of Mountains that extend themselves sixteen hundred Furlongs in length, and one hundred and seventy in breadth, beginning at Mount *Caucasus*, and reaching as far as the Red Sea, which serves for another Fence where the Mountains fail. At the foot of the Hills is a spacious Plain, very fertile, and thick set with Towns and Villages. The River *Araxes* runs thro' these Plains into the *Medus*, carrying along with it the Rivers of several Torrents: The *Medus*, which is a less River than that it receives, empties it self into the Sea to the southward. No River can contribute more to the Production of Grass than this, for whatever Land it waters it clothes it with Flowers and Herbage. Its Banks are also cover'd on both sides with Plane Trees and Poplars, so that to those who behold it at a distance, the Woods upon the Banks seem to be contiguous to those upon the Mountains, because the shaded River glides along in a low Channel; and the little Hills that border upon it are well cloth'd with Wood, this fruitful Water penetrating through the Earth to the Roots of the Trees.

There is not any Countrey in all *Asia* more healthful than this, the Air is temperate, and on one side the long ridge of Mountains, with their shady Groves alleviate the excessive Heat of the Sun, and on the other the adjoining Sea cherishes the Ground with its moderate Warmth.

The Prisoner having given this Account, the King ask'd him, *whether he had what he said by the Relation of others, or by his own Inspection?* He made Answer, *that he had been a Shepherd,*
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and knew all those by-ways perfectly well : and that he had been twice taken Prisoner ; once by the Persians in Lycia, and now by himself. This Answer put the King in mind of the Oracle that had told him, a Lycian should be his Guide into Persia ; having therefore made him large Promises, suitable to the present Necessity, and the Prisoner's Condition, he order'd him to be arm'd after the Macedonian manner, and in the Name of Fortune to lead the way, which (notwithstanding its seeming Impracticableness) he did not doubt to pass thro' with a small Number, unless he imagin'd that Alexander could not do that for the sake of Glory and Honour that he had done on the account of his Flock. Hereupon the Prisoner persisted to urge the difficulty of the Undertaking, especially for Men in Arms. To which the King reply'd, Take my Word for it, none of them that are to follow will refuse to go wherever you lead 'em. Then having committed the Guard of the Camp to Craterus, with the Foot he commanded, and the Forces under Maleager, and a thousand Horse Archers, he order'd him to observe the same Form of Encampment, and to keep a great many Fires, that the Barbarians might by that think the King was there in Person ; but if he found Ariobarzanes got Intelligence of his March thro' the winding narrow Ways, and thereupon made Detachments to oppose his Passage ; that then Craterus should use his utmost Efforts to terrifie him, and oblige him to keep his Troops together to oppose the present Danger ; but if he (the King) deceiv'd the Enemy, and gain'd the Wood, that then, upon the Alarm among the Enemies endeavouring to pursue the King, he should boldly enter the Straits they had been repuls'd in the Day before, since he might be sure they were undefended, and the Enemy turn'd upon himself.

At the third Watch, he broke up in great Silence, without so much as the Signal from the Trumpet, and follow'd his Guide towards the Narrow Way. Every light-arm'd Soldier had Orders *to carry with him three Days Provision*. But besides the Steepness of the Rocks, and the Slipperiness of the Stone that often deceiv'd their Feet, the driven Snow very much incommoded 'em; for it sometimes swallow'd them up as if they had fallen into Pits; and when they were help'd up by their Companions, they rather drew them after them, than got them out. Moreover the Night, and unknown Countrey, besides the Uncertainty whether the Guide was faithful or not, very much increas'd their Fear: *For if he deceived the Guards, and made his Escape, they were liable to be taken like wild Beasts: So that the King's and their Safety, depended on the Fidelity and Life of one Man*. At length they gain'd the Top of the Mountain. The Way to *Ariobarzanes* lay on the Right-hand: Here he detach'd *Philotas* and *Cænus*, as also *Amyntas* and *Polypercon*, with a Body of the lightest-arm'd, with Instructions, *that by reason there was Horse intermixt with the Foot, they should march leisurely through that Part of the Countrey where the Soil was fruitful and afforded Plenty of Forage*. He also appointed some of the Prisoners for their Guides. As for *himself*, taking with him *his* Guards, and those Troops call'd the *Agema*, he march'd with a great deal of Difficulty through a By-Path, remote from the Enemies Out-Guard. It was now the middle of the Day, and his Men being tir'd, it was necessary to give them some Rest; for they had still as far to go, as they were already come, though it was not so steep and craggy.

Having therefore refresh'd his Men both with Food and Sleep, at the second Watch he continu'd his March, without any great Difficulty. However,

ever, by reason of the Declivity of the Mountains towards the Plain, there was a great Gulph (occasion'd by the Meeting of several Torrents that had wore away the Earth) which stopp'd their further Progress. Besides, the Branches of the Trees were so entangl'd one within the other, and join'd so close, that it oppos'd their Passage like a thick Hedge. This cast 'em into the utmost Despair, and they had much ado to retain their Tears: The Darknes of the Night also increas'd their Terror, for if any Stars appear'd, they were intercepted by the close Contexture of the Boughs. The very Use of their Ears was also taken away; for the Wind was high and blew so violently among the Trees, that the Noise of the interfering Branches was still greater. At last the long expected Light lessen'd the Terrors which the Night had enhaunc'd; for by fetching a small Compass, they declin'd the Gulph; and now every one began to be a Guide to himself. Having therefore gain'd the Top of a Hill, from whence they could discover the Enemy's Out-Guards, they resolutely shew'd themselves at the Back of the Enemy, who mistrusted no such thing. Those few who dar'd engage, were kill'd; and the Groans of those that were dying, together with the dismal Appearance of those that fled to their main Body, struck such a Terror amongst 'em, that they took to their Heels without so much as trying their Fortune.

The Noise having reach'd *Craterus's* Camp, he presently advanc'd to take Possession of those Streights where they had been baffl'd the Day before. At the same time, *Philotas* with *Polypercon*, *Amyntas*, and *Canus*, who had been order'd to march another way, was a fresh Surprise to the *Barbarians*, who were now surrounded on all Sides by the *Macedonians*; notwithstanding which, they behav'd themselves gallantly; which makes me believe,

lieve, that Necessity emboldens the most Cowardly, and that oftentimes Despair is the Cause of Hope: For naked as they were, they clos'd in with those that were arm'd, and by the Bulk of their Bodies, brought 'em down to the Ground, and then stuck several of 'em with their own Weapons. However, *Ariobarzanes* with forty Horse, and about five thousand Foot, broke thro' the *Macedonian* Army (a great many falling on both Sides) and endeavour'd to possess himself of *Persepolis* the chief City of the Countrey. But being deny'd Entrance by the Garrison, and the Enemy pursuing him closely, he renew'd the Fight, and was slain with all his Men. By this Time *Craterus* marching with the utmost Expedition, also join'd the King.

CHAP. V.

THE King fortify'd his Camp in the same Place where he had defeated the Enemy: For notwithstanding he had gain'd a compleat Victory, yet the large and deep Ditches in many Places, retarded his March, and so *he* thought it more advisable to proceed leisurely; not suspecting so much any Attempt from the *Barbarians*, as the Treachery of the Ground.

In his March *he* receiv'd Letters from *Timidates* (Keeper of the Royal Treasure) wherein he notify'd to *him*, That upon Advice of his Approach, the Inhabitants would have ris'd the Treasury; wherefore he desired him to hasten his March, and come and take Possession of it: That the Way was safe, although the River *Araxes* run a-cross. I cannot applaud any Military Virtue of *Alexander's* so much as his Expedition in all Actions. Leaving therefore

therefore his Foot behind, *he* march'd all Night with his Cavalry, notwithstanding their late Fatigues, and arriv'd by Break of Day, at the *Araxes*. There were several Villages in the neighbourhood, which having pillag'd and demolish'd, he made a Bridge of the materials. The *King* was not far from the Town when so sad a Spectacle presented it self to his Eyes, as can hardly be parallell'd in History. It consisted of four thousand *Greek* Captives, whom the *Persians* had mangl'd after a miserable manner. For some had their Feet cut off, others their Hands and Ears, and all their Bodies were burnt with barbarous Characters, and thus reserv'd for the cruel Diversion of their inhuman Enemies; who now finding themselves under foreign Subjection, did not oppose their Desire to go out and meet *Alexander*. They resembl'd some strange Figures more than Men, being only distinguishable as such by their Voice. They drew more Tears from their Spectators than they shed themselves; for in so great a Variety of Calamities, notwithstanding they were all Sufferers, yet their Punishment was so diversify'd, that it was a difficult matter to determine which of 'em was most miserable. But when they cry'd out, *that at last Jupiter the Revenger of Greece, had open'd his Eyes*, all the Beholders were so mov'd with Compassion, that they thought their Sufferings their own. *Alexander* having dry'd his Eyes (for he could not forbear weeping at so sad an Object) bid 'em *have a good Heart*, and assur'd 'em, *They should see their native Countrey and their Wives again*, and then encamp'd at two Furlongs distance from the Town.

These *Greeks* in the mean time, withdrew themselves to deliberate concerning what they should desire the *King* to do for 'em. Some were for asking a *Settlement in Asia*, others were for return-
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ing home, when Euthymon the Cymæon spoke to 'em after the following manner: *They who a little while ago were aſham'd to come out of their dark Dungeons to implore Relief, are now for expoſing their hideous Sufferings to all Greece, as if it were an agreeable Spectacle; when at the ſame time, it is hard to determine, whether we our ſelves are more aſham'd or griev'd at our Miſfortunes. Thoſe bear their Afflictions beſt, who hide them. There is no Countrey ſo ſuitable to the Wretched, as Solitude, and an abſolute Oblivion of their former State. For they who rely much on the Compaſſion of their Friends, are ignorant that Tears are ſoon dry'd up. No Body can love ſincerely thoſe they loath; for as Calamity is full of Complaints, Proſperity is diſdainful. Every one conſiders his own Circumſtances when he deliberates concerning thoſe of others; and were we not equally miſerable, we had long ago loath'd each other. Is it a wonder, that the Happy delight in one another? Let us therefore, I beſeech you (ſince we may be ſaid to be long ſince dead) ſeek for a Place where we may bury the Remains of our mangl'd Carcaſſes, and conceal our Deformities in a foreign Countrey. We ſhould be every agreeable Objects to thoſe Wives we marry'd in our Youth! Can you imagine our Children (who are now in the Flower of their Age and Proſperity) will own us? Or will our Brothers be better natur'd to the Refuſe of Jays? Beſides, how many is there amongſt us who can travel ſo far? It is a likely matter, that at this diſtance from Europe, baniſh'd to the remotest Parts of the Eaſt, loaded with Years and Infirmities, having loſt the greateſt of our ſelves, we ſhould be able to undergo thoſe Fatigues that have tir'd even the victorious Army. Then what will become of our preſent Wives (that Chance and Neceſſity forc'd us to take as the only Comfort in our Miſery) and ſmall Children? Shall we drag them*
along

along with us, or leave 'em behind us? If we take 'em with us, no Body will own us. Shall we then leave these present Comforts, when it is altogether uncertain whether we shall live to see those we go to? Let us therefore resolve to hide our selves among those who began to know us in our State of Misery. This was Eutymon's Sentiment. But Thætetus the Athenian oppos'd thus. There is no Person of any religious Principles, who values his Friends by the outward Figure of his Circumstances, especially when it is the Inhumanity of an Enemy, and not Nature, that is the Cause of their Calamity. He deserves all kind of Evil, who is asham'd of accidental Misfortunes. He can have no other Motive to think so hardly of the rest of Mankind, and to despair of Pity, but because he would refuse it to another. The Gods now offer'd 'em what they could never have hop'd for, viz. the Blessing of returning to their native Countrey, their Wives and Children, and whatever Men value Life for, or despise Death to preserve. Why do we not then break out of this Prison? Our native Air is quite different from this, the Light it self seems another thing: The Greeks Manners, Religion, and Language are in request with the Barbarians, and shall we, whose Birthright they are, voluntarily forsake 'em? when at the same time our greatest Misery is to be depriv'd of these Blessings. As for my Part, I am resolv'd to return home to my native Countrey, and to lay hold of the King's extraordinary Bounty. If any amongst us are so fond of those Wives and Children that Servitude has forc'd upon 'em, they may continue here; however, they ought to be no hindrance to those to whom nothing is dearer than their native Countrey.

Some few were of this Opinion; the rest were overcome by a long Habit, which is stronger than Nature; they agreed therefore to desire the King

to assign 'em some Place for their Habitation; and chose a Hundred out of their Body, to prefer their Petition. *Alexander* thinking they would ask, what *he himself* intended for 'em, told 'em, *He had order'd every one of them a Horse, and a Thousand Denarij; and that when they should come to Greece, he would so provide for them, that (except the Calamities they had experienc'd in their Captivity) none should be happier than they.* At these Words, they fell a weeping, and being dejected, could neither look up, nor speak; which made the *King* enquire into the cause of their Sadness. Then *Euthymon* made an Answer fuitable to what he had said to his Companions. Hereupon the *King*, mov'd with their Misfortune and Resolution, order'd *Three thousand Denarij* to be distributed to every one of 'em, besides Ten Suits of Cloaths, with Cattle, Sheep, and such a quantity of Corn, as was sufficient to cultivate the Land that was assign'd them.

C H A P. VI.

THE next Day, having call'd together all his Generals, *he represented to 'em, That no City had been more mischievous to the Greeks, than this Seat of the ancient Kings of Persia: From hence came all those vast Armies: From hence Darius first, and then Xerxes, made their impious Wars upon Europe: It was therefore necessary to raze it, to appease the Manes of their Ancestors.* The Inhabitants had abandon'd it, and were fled some one way, and some another; so that the *King* led the Phalanx into it, without farther delay. *He had before this made himself Master of many Towns of Regal Wealth and Magnificence, some*

by Force, and some by Composition, but the Riches of this exceeded all the rest: Hither the *Persians* had brought all their Substance; Gold and Silver here lay in Heaps: Of Cloaths there was a prodigious quantity: The Furniture of the Houses seem'd not only design'd for Use, but for Luxury and Ostentation. This gave occasion to the Conquerors to fight among themselves, each taking for an Enemy, his Companion that had got the richest Spoils; and as they could not carry off all they found, they were now no longer employ'd in taking, but in picking and chusing. They tore the Royal Garments, every one being willing to have his Share of 'em: With Axes they cut in pieces Vessels of exquisite Art: In fine, nothing was left untouch'd, nor carry'd away entire; the Images of Gold and Silver were broke in pieces, according as every one could lay hold of them. *Avarice* did not only rage here, but *Cruelty* likewise; for being loaded with Gold and Silver, they would not be troubl'd to guard their Prisoners, but inhumanly kill'd 'em, and now barbarously murder'd those they had at first shewn Mercy to in hopes of Gain. This occasion'd a great many to prevent the Enemy, by a voluntary Death, so that putting on their richest Apparel, they cast themselves headlong from the Walls, with their Wives and Children: Some set Fire to their Houses, (which the Enemy design'd to do) and perish'd, with their Families in the Flames. At last the King gave Orders, *not to injure the Persons of the Women, nor meddle with their Apparel.*

The immense Treasures taken here exceeded all belief: But we must either doubt of all the rest, or believe, that in the Exchequer of this Place was found a Hundred and twenty thousand Talents; which the King designing for the Use of
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the War, caus'd *Horses and Camels to be brought from Susa to Babylon, to carry it off for that purpose*. This Sum was afterwards increas'd, by the taking of *Perſagada*, wherein were found Six thousand Talents. *Cyrus* had built this City; and *Gobares*, who was Governor thereof, surrender'd it to *Alexander*.

The King made *Nicarthis* Governor of the Castle of *Perſopolis*, leaving with him a Garrison of Three thousand *Macedonians*: He also continu'd *Tyridates* (who had deliver'd up the Treasure) in the same Honours he had enjoy'd under *Darius*.

Alexander left here the greatest part of his Army, with the Baggage, under the Command of *Parmenio* and *Craterus*; and taking with him a Thousand Horse, and part of the light-arm'd Foot, penetrated farther into the Countrey of *Perſia*, under the *Pleiades*, about the beginning of Winter. On his Way, he was very much incommoded with Storms of Rain, and Tempests that seem'd intolerable, notwithstanding which, he pursu'd his intended Progress. He was now got into a Countrey cover'd over with Snow and Ice: The sad view of the Place, and the impassable Wastes and Solitudes, struck the tir'd Soldier with Horror, who now began to think he was got to the End of the World. They beheld with Astonishment the frightful Solitudes, which had not the least signs of Human Culture; they therefore requir'd him to return, *before the very Light and Heavens fail'd 'em*. The King forbore chastising 'em in the Amazement they were in, but leaping from his Horse, march'd on foot before 'em through the Snow and Ice. They were asham'd not to follow him; therefore first his Friends, then the Captains, and at last the Soldiers march'd after him.

The *King* was the first that with a Pickaxe broke the Ice and made himself a Passage ; then the rest imitated his Example. At length having made their way through Woods almost impassable, they began to discover here and there some Tokens that the Place was inhabited, as also Flocks of Sheep wandering up and down. The Inhabitants live in Cottages, and thought themselves sufficiently secur'd by the Impracticableness of the Countrey. At the sight of the Enemy, they presently kill'd those who could not follow them, and fled to the remotest Mountains, which were cover'd with Snow ; but after some Conferences with the Prisoners, their Fright abated, and they surrender'd themselves to the *King*, who was no way severe to them.

Alexander having ravag'd the Countrey of *Persia*, and reduc'd several Towns under his Obedience, came at last into the Countrey of the *Mardians*, who are a warlike Nation, and very different from the rest of the *Persians* in their manner of living. They dig themselves Caves in the Mountains, where they dwell with their Wives and Children, feeding on their Flocks, or wild Beasts. The Women are not of a softer Nature than the Men ; they have bushy Hair, and their Garments hardly reach their Knees. They bind their Forehead with a Sling, which serves them both for Ornament and Weapon. However the same Torrent of *Fortune* bore down this Nation, as it had done the rest ; so that on the thirtieth day after he departed from *Persepolis*, he return'd thither again.

Then he made Presents to his Friends, and to the rest according to their respective Merit, distributing amongst 'em almost all that had been taken in the Town.

C H A P. VII.

BUT the excellent Endowments of his Mind, that noble Disposition whereby he surpass'd all the *Kings* his Predecessors, that manly Constancy in surmounting Dangers, that unparallel'd Celerity in undertaking and executing the greatest Designs, his inviolable Faith to those who submitted to him, and his wonderful Clemency towards his Prisoners, were all fully'd by his excessive Love of Wine: For notwithstanding his Enemy and Rival for the Empire, was at this time making the greatest Preparations to renew the War, and the late conquer'd Nations were yet uneasy under his new Government, yet *he* would spend the Day-time in revelling and feasting; to which Entertainments the Women were also admitted; not such whom it was a Crime to violate, but such as were common, and whose Conversation was a Disgrace to a Man in Arms. One of these, whose Name was *Thais*, being heated with Wine, told him, *he could not do any thing that would more oblige all the Greeks, than if he burnt the Palace of the Kings of Persia: That they expected this by way of Reprisal for those Towns of theirs the Barbarians had destroy'd.* This drunken Harlot had no sooner spoke her Opinion in a Matter of so great a Consequence, but presently some of the Company (who were also loaded with Wine) applauded the Proposal; and the King not only heard it with Patience, but eager to put it in Execution, said, *Why do we not revenge Greece? Why do we delay setting Fire to the Town?* They were all heated with Wine, and in that drunken Condition immediately rise to burn that City they had spared in their Anger. The

King shew'd 'em the Example, and was the first that set Fire to the Palace, after which his Guests, Servants, and Concubines did the same. There being a great deal of Cedar in this noble Structure, it presently took Fire, and communicated the Flames. The Army which was encamp'd not far from the Town, no sooner perceiv'd the Conflagration but, imagining it to be casual, they ran to help to quench it: But being come to the Entrance of the Palace, and seeing the *King* himself carrying fresh Flambeaux to increase the Fire, they flung down the Water they had brought, and fed the Flames with dry Materials.

This was the End of the noblest City of the East, from whence so many Nations receiv'd their Laws; which had been the Birth-place of so many *Kings*; formerly the chief Terror of *Greece*; had fitted out a Fleet of a thousand Sail of Ships, and sent out Armies that, like an Inundation, almost cover'd all *Europe*, had laid Bridges over the Sea, and hollow'd Mountains to make the Sea a Passage; and in so long a time as has elaps'd since its Destruction, never was rebuilt: For the *Macedonian Kings* made choice of other Towns for their Residence, which are now in the Possession of the *Parthians*. The Ruin of this City was so complete that were it not for the River *Araxes* we should hardly know where it stood. This River run at no great Distance from the Walls of this Town, which (as the neighbouring Inhabitants rather conjecture than certainly know) was situate about twenty Furlongs from it.

The *Macedonians* were asham'd so famous a City should be destroy'd by their *King* in a drunken Humour. They therefore made a serious Matter of it, and perswaded themselves, *it was expedient it should be consum'd this way*. But as for *Alexander*, as soon as Rest had restor'd him

to himself, it is certain *he* repented of what *he* had done; and *he* said, the Persians would have made more ample Satisfaction to Greece, had they been necessitated to behold him sitting in Xerxes's Throne in his Royal City.

The next Day *he* order'd thirty Talents to be given to the Lycian, who had been his Guide into Persia. From hence *he* pass'd into the Countrey of Media, where he was met by new Recruits from Cilicia. They consisted of five thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse, both the one and the other were under the Command of Plato the Athenian. Having receiv'd this Reinforcement, *he* resolv'd to pursue Darius.

CHAP. VIII.

THIS Prince was by this time got to Ecbatana, which is the Capital of Media. The Parthians are now in Possession of this Town; it is the Royal Seat during the Summer. Darius intended from hence to go into Bactra; but fearing to be prevented by Alexander's Celerity, he alter'd his Mind and shaped his Course another way. Alexander was fifteen hundred Furlongs Distance from him, but now *he* thought no Distance remote enough, against his Expedition. He therefore rather prepar'd himself to fight, than to fly. He was follow'd by thirty thousand Foot, amongst whom were four thousand Greeks of an invincible Fidelity to the last towards the King. He had also four thousand Slingers and Archers, besides three thousand three hundred Horse which consisted chiefly of Bactrians. They were commanded by Bessus, who was Governor of the Ci

ty as well as Countrey of *Bactriana*. *Darius* with these Forces march'd at some Distance from the High-way, commanding those who guarded the Baggage to go before. Then having call'd a Council, he spoke to this Effect: *If Fortune had link'd me with Cowards, who preferr'd any kind of Life to an honourable Death; I would rather chuse to hold my Tongue, than waste my Breath in Speeches to no Purpose; but I have had greater Experience than I could wish, both of your Courage and Fidelity; so that I ought rather to endeavour to shew my self worthy of such Friends, than in the least doubt of your being like your selves. Out of so many thousand that were under my Command, you only have faithfully adher'd to me, tho' twice conquer'd, and twice forc'd to fly. Your Fidelity and Constancy make me believe I am still a King: It is true the Traitors and Deserters at present reign in my Towns; but it is not because they are thought worthy of that high Station, but only to try by their Rewards, to shake your Loyalty. Notwithstanding which you have chose rather to share my Fortune than that of the Conqueror, and thereby shew'd your selves worthy to be recompenc'd by the Gods, if it should not be in my Power. There can be no Posterity so deaf, no Fame so ungrateful, as not with due Praises to extol you to the Skies. Therefore notwithstanding I had some thoughts of flying, contrary, heav'n knows, to my own Disposition; yet relying on your Bravery, I am willing to meet the Enemy. For how long must I be an Exile in my own Kingdom? How long must I in my own Dominions fly before a Foreigner and strange King, when I have it in my own Power to try the Fortune of War once more, and either recover what I have lost, or at least die an honourable Death? Unless it should be thought better to lie at the Conqueror's Mercy, and after the Example of*

Mazæus and Mithrenes receive perhaps the precarious Sovereignty of a single Nation. But I hope the Gods will never suffer any Body to take the Diadem from my Head, or bestow it on me ; neither will I while alive, resign my Empire, my Kingdom and Life shall end together. If you are thus dispos'd, if this be a fix'd Resolution among you, none of you need to doubt of his Liberty; none of you shall be subject to the disdainful Haughtiness of the Macedonians. Your Right-hands shall either revenge your Sufferings, or put an End to 'em. I am my self an Instance of the Mutability of Fortune, and I have Reason to hope for her gentler Revolutions. But if the Gods have no Regard to just and religious Wars, it will still be in the Power of the Brave to die honourably. I therefore conjure you by the glorious Actions of our Ancestors, who have held the Government of all the Eastern Kingdoms with so much Praise; by those great Men, to whom the Macedonians formerly paid Tribute; by the vast Fleets that have been sent into Greece; by the Trophies of so many Kings, I once more beg and beseech you to arm yourselves with a Courage worthy your noble Extraction and Nation, and that you will bear with the same Constancy you have hitherto shewn, whatever Fortune shall for the future allot you. As for my own part, I am resolv'd to signalize my self for ever, either by a glorious Victory, or a brave Engagement.

C H A P. IX.

WHILE Darins was saying these things, the Appearance of the present Danger was so frightful to them, that the Minds and Hearts of them all were seiz'd with Horror; none of 'em knew either what to think or say. At last Artax-

bazus, the oldest of his Friends, and who, as we said before, had formerly resided with *Philip*, declar'd himself to this purpose: *We are ready, Sir, to follow you into the Field in our richest Apparel and brightest Armour, with this Disposition, That we neither despair of Victory, nor fear our Fate.* The rest seem'd to be of the same Mind.

But *Nabarzanes*, who had enter'd into an abominable, and before that time, unheard-of Conspiracy, to seize the *King*, by the Help of those Troops they each commanded, with this Design, that if *Alexander* pursu'd them, to deliver him alive into *his* Hands, and thereby ingratiate themselves with *him*, since *he* could not but be mightily pleas'd to have *his* Enemy in *his* Power; but if they found they could make their Escapes, then to kill *Darius*, and seizing the Kingdom, renew the War again. As they had for some time been hatching this Treason, *Nabarzanes* laid hold of this Occasion to pave the Way to his wicked Purpose, and said, *I am sensible, Sir, that what I am going to say, will not at first be grateful to you: But we see Physicians cure desperate Diseases with rough Medicines; and the Masters of Ships, when they fear a Shipwreck, fling a great Part of their Goods over-board to save the rest. However, I do not offer to persuade you to sustain any Loss. But on the contrary, by salutary Measures to preserve both your self and Kingdom. The Gods seem to be against us in the War we make, and Fortune is obstinate in her Persecution of the Persians. We must therefore begin a-new, with better Omens. Resign your Empire and the Management of Affairs for a while to another, who shall be no longer King than till the Enemy withdraws from Asia; and then the Conqueror shall restore the sacred Depositum into your hands again. Reason seems to promise this would not be long a-doing. Bactra is yet entire; the Indians and the*
Sagæ

Sagæ are still at your Devotion: There are so many Nations, so many Armies, so many thousands of Horse and Foot to renew the War with, that there is still more left to carry it on, than has been lost. Why should we then, after the manner of Brutes, run headlong to Destruction? It is the Business of brave Men to despise Death rather than hate Life. Cowards are sometimes by continual Hardships, brought to have a mean Opinion of themselves and Despair; whereas true Courage leaves nothing untry'd. Death therefore is the last Remedy, which then to embrace chearfully, is sufficient. Let us then repair to Bactra, which will be a safe Retreat, and let Bessus who is Governor of that Countrey, be constituted King for a Time, and when the present Troubles shall be happily settl'd, he shall restore to you, as to his lawful Sovereign, the Empire which he only receiv'd in Trust.

It is no wonder *Darius* was transported at this Discourse, altho' he was yet ignorant of the impious Designs it was intended to promote. *Thou vile Slave*, said he, *hast thou found a proper Time to disclose thy Parricide?* And having drawn his Sword, he seem'd dispos'd to kill him; but *Bessus* and the *Bactrians*, with dejected Looks interpos'd, tho' they intended at the same time, to have bound him if he had persisted.

In the mean time *Nabarzanes* made his Escape, and *Bessus* follow'd him, and they both immediately drew off their Troops from the rest of the Army, in order to take private Measures. After their Departure *Artabazus* made a Speech suitable to the present Juncture of Affairs, and endeavour'd to appease *Darius's* Anger. He entreated him to bear patiently the Folly or Error of those who were devoted to his Service, and to consider, that *Alexander* was approaching, who would be found a heavy Burthen, tho' they were all ready and united: What

would he then be, if any of those who had follow'd him in his Flight, should be alienated from his Interest? Darius was in this persuad'd by him, and notwithstanding he design'd to have decamp'd, yet in the present Confusion of Affairs, he resolv'd to continue in the same Place. But being oppress'd with Grief and Despair, he shut himself up in his Tent. The Army being now under no one's particular Command, were variously dispos'd, and they did not now as heretofore, deliberate in common; which Patron, who was Captain of the Greeks perceiving, he order'd his Men to take to their Arms, and to be ready on all Occasions. The Persians had withdrawn themselves, and Bessus was with the Bactrians, and labour'd to bring the Persians over to him. He represented to them the Wealth of Bactriana, which was still untouch'd, and at the same time reminded 'em of the Risks they would unavoidably run, if they stay'd where they were: But the Persians were all of one Mind, and said, *it were a Crime to desert the King.*

While these things were doing, Artabazus discharg'd the Duty of a General: He went about the Persians' Tents, exhorting them sometimes apart, and sometimes all together, and did not leave them till he was pretty well assur'd of their Obedience. Then returning to Darius, he with much Difficulty at last prevail'd with him to eat, and demean himself like a King.

CHAP. X.

BUT Bessus and Nabarzanes were bent upon the Execution of their execrable Design, being inflam'd with an impotent Desire of reigning. At the same time it was impossible for 'em to compass

compass that Authority while *Darius* was living; for amongst these People the *Majesty* of King is held in the greatest Veneration. At the very Name, they assemble together from all Parts, and constantly pay *him* the same Adoration in Adversity, which he us'd to receive from them in his Prosperity. The Countreys these impious Wretches were Governors of, serv'd to swell their ambitious Minds; for it was as large in extent, and as powerful in Men and Arms, as any of those Nations whatever, making almost the third Part of *Asia*. The Number of young Men was sufficient to make good the vast Armies *Darius* had lost. This made them not only despise *Darius*, but even *Alexander* himself, and imagine, that if they could but make themselves Masters of those Countreys, they might be able to restore the *Persian* Empire.

After a long Consultation, they resolv'd to seize the King by the *Bactrian* Soldiers, who were intirely at their Devotion, and then send a Messenger to *Alexander* to let *him* know they were ready to deliver *him* into his Hands alive. If (which was what they fear'd) he should detest their Treason, then they design'd to kill *Darius*, and repair with their Forces to *Bactra*. But it was impossible for them to seize *Darius* openly, there being so many thousand *Persians* ready to assist him; besides which, they were also afraid of the Fidelity of the *Greeks*. They therefore resolv'd to compass by Stratagem what they could not effect by Force, and counterfeit a Repentance of their Fault in withdrawing themselves from the Army, and likewise to excuse their Consternation to the King.

In the mean time, they dispatch'd Emissaries to solícite the *Persians* to a Revolt, and try to shake their Constancy, by Hopes on the one side, and Fear on the other: They insinuated to 'em, That they expos'd themselves to manifest Ruin, and ine-

vitale Destruction: That Bactriana was ready to receive them, and bestow on them Presents and Riches as much as even their Desires could conceive.

While these Things were in Agitation, *Artabazus* came to them, either by the King's Order, or of his own Motion, and assur'd them, *Darius's Anger was appeas'd, and that he was ready to shew 'em the same Favour as before.* Hereupon they wept, and excus'd their Fault, and begg'd of *Artabazus* to intercede in their behalf, and implore the King's Mercy. The Night being pass'd after this manner, *Nabarzanes* repair'd to the Entry of the King's Tent with the *Bactrian* Soldiers, covering his secret Treachery, with a specious Pretext of a solemn Duty.

Darius having given the Signal to march, seated himself in his Chariot, according to Custom, and *Nabarzanes* with the other *Parricides*, flung themselves upon the Ground, and hypocritically worshipp'd him they design'd suddenly to have in their Custody as a Prisoner, shedding at the same time Tears, the usual Marks of Repentance; *so false is the Heart of Man, and so practis'd in Dissimulation.*

Darius, who was himself naturally sincere, and of a mild Disposition, was mov'd by their Prayers and submissive Behaviour, and not only believ'd what they said, but even wept himself. But this it self had no Influence over the Hearts of these Wretches, to make 'em repent of their villainous Designs, tho' their Eyes were Witnesses how worthy a Person they deceiv'd, both as a Man, and as a King. As for his part, not dreaming of the Danger that was at hand, he made all the haste he could to escape falling into the Hands of *Alexander*, whom he only dreaded.

C H A P. XI.

PATRON who commanded the Greeks, commanded his Men to put on their Armour, which us'd to be carry'd with the Baggage, and to be ready on all Occasions, to execute his Orders. He follow'd the King's Chariot, watching for an Opportunity to speak to him; for he had penetrated into Bessus his Design; which Bessus mistrusting, would not depart from the Chariot, but follow'd it close, rather like one who guarded Darius as a Prisoner, than as an Attendant of the King. Patron therefore having waited a considerable Time, often suppressing what his Tongue was just going to utter, (as hesitating betwixt Fidelity and Fear) kept his Eyes fixt on the King, who at last (perceiving it) sent Bubaces one of his Eunuchs to him, to inquire, if he had any thing to say to him. Patron made answer yes, but without a Witness. Being hereupon commanded to draw near, without any Interpreter; for Darius understood Greek very well. He told the King; Sir, of fifty thousand Greeks that we were in your Service, there is now but a small Number of us left, who have accompany'd you in all your Variety of Fortune; and are the same towards you in your present Condition, as we were in your most prosperous State. Whatever Place you shall repair to, we shall consider as our own Homes and native Countrey: Your Prosperity and Adversity, have link'd us to you. I therefore beg and beseech you by this our invincible Fidelity, to pitch your Tent amongst us, and suffer us to be the Guards of your sacred Person. We have lost Greece, and have no Bactriana to repair to. All our Hope is in yourself, and I wish we had no Reason to distrust others. It is needless to say more. As I am a Foreigner and

Stranger, I should not ask to have the Guard of your Royal Person, if I thought it could be safe with any other.

Notwithstanding *Bessus* was ignorant of the Greek Tongue, yet his guilty Conscience made him believe *Patron* had discover'd him, but he was put out of his Pain by one that understood the Greek Language, and had heard what was said. *Darius* no way frightened, as could be perceiv'd by his Countenance, ask'd him *the Cause of his Advice*. Whereupon, thinking it dangerous to delay it any longer, he reply'd, *Sir, Bessus and Nabarzanes have conspir'd against you; your Fortune and Life are in the utmost Peril. This Day will be either yours, or the Parricides last.* Had the King heeded this Information, *Patron* had had the Glory of preserving his Life. Now let them turn this to a Jest that will, who hold that human Affairs are guided by a blind Chance; for my part I believe they depend upon an eternal Decree, and on a Chain of hidden Causes, and that every one performs his Race under the Direction of an immutable Law which has long since determin'd its Period. *Darius's* Answer was, *That although the Fidelity of the Greek Soldiers was sufficiently known to him, yet he was resolv'd never to withdraw himself from his native Subjects. That it was more vexatious to him to distrust than to be deceiv'd. That he would rather suffer whatever Fortune had decreed, than seek for Safety among Strangers; and that he had already liv'd too long, if his own Soldiers plotted his Destruction.* *Patron* therefore despairing of the King's Welfare, return'd to his Post ready to run any Hazard for his Preservation.

C H A P. XII.

Bessus had in a manner resolv'd upon killing the King forthwith, but apprehending he should not ingratiate himself with *Alexander*, unless he deliver'd him up alive, he defer'd his intended Villany to the next Night. In the mean time he came to *Darius*, and gave him Thanks that he had so prudently declin'd the Treachery of a perfidious Man, who began already to have an Eye on *Alexander's Riches*, for most certainly he design'd to have made him a Present of the King's Head; but it was no wonder that a mercenary Man made a Traffick of every thing, since he had neither Pledge nor Home, and was in a manner banish'd out of the World; a false Friend and a doubtful Enemy, and always ready to serve those who bid most. After this he began to justifie himself, and call'd the Tutelar Gods of the Countrey to witness his Innocence and Fidelity. *Darius*, by his Countenance seem'd to believe him, tho' he no way doubted of the *Greeks* Information; but in the present Juncture it was equally dangerous to distrust his Subjects, or to be betray'd by them. There were thirty thousand of 'em whose Inclination to Villany was to be suspected, and there were but four thousand *Greeks* under Patron, to whom if he should commit the care of his Person, distrusting his own Subjects, he saw they would make that the excuse of their Parricide, and therefore he chose rather to perish undeservedly than to give 'em a Pretext for their Crime. However, he made answer to *Bessus*, That *Alexander's Justice* was not less known to him than his Valour: That they were deceiv'd who expected from him a reward for their Treason, since there could not be a more rigid Chastiser

stizer of Infidelity. The Night drawing on, the *Persians*, according to Custom, laid by their Arms, went to the next Villages to supply themselves with Necessaries; but the *Bactrians*, by *Bessus's* Order stood to their Arms. In the mean time *Darius* sent to *Artabazus* to come to him, and having related what *Patron* had told him, *Artabazus* was for his passing immediately in the *Greeks* Camp, assuring him, that the *Persians* would not fail to join him as soon as they understood his Danger; but being doom'd to his Lot, he was no longer capable of wholesome Advice, so that embracing *Artabazus* for the last time (who was the only Comfort he had in his present Circumstances.) They both wept bitterly, and the *King* was forc'd at last to order him to be taken from him, he being unwilling to leave him. *Darius* cover'd his Head that he might not see him depart in so much Affliction, and then flung himself upon the Ground. At the same time his Guards, whose Duty it was to defend the *King's* Person at their own Perils, fled from their Post, not thinking themselves a Match for the Conspirators whom they expected every Minute. The *King* was now in a manner left alone, there remaining with him only a few *Eunuchs*, who did not know where to go. In this solitary Condition he ruminated on several Things, till tir'd with that Lonesomness which he had had recourse to, to ease his Mind, he order'd *Bubaces* to be call'd to him, who being come he said, *Get you gone likewise, and take care of your selves; you have, according to your Duty, adher'd firmly to your Prince's Interest to the very last. For my part, I'll here expect my Doom. Perhaps you may wonder I do not with my own Hand end my Days? But I had rather perish through another's Crime than by my own.*

At these Words the Eunuch not only fill'd the Tent, but the whole Camp with mournful Cries and Lamentations ; then several others enter'd also, and tearing their Clothes bewail'd the deplorable Condition of their *King*. At last these Howlings reach'd the *Persians* Quarters, who seiz'd with Terror, did neither dare to take to their Arms for fear of the *Bactrians*, nor keep themselves quiet, lest they should be thought shamefully to desert their Sovereign.

A various dissonant Clamour run through the Camp, which was now without a Head or Director ; they who belong'd to *Nabarzanes*, and *Bessus* grounding upon these doleful Lamentations told 'em, *The King had laid violent Hands upon himself*. They therefore flew to the Tent with those who were to be the Executioners of their abominable Villany ; and understanding at their arrival there that the *King* was living, these Wretches order'd *him* to be seiz'd and bound.

Thus *he* who a little while ago was carry'd in a magnificent Chariot, and honour'd by *his* Subjects as if *he* had been a *God*, was now (without the Concurrence of foreign Power) made a Prisoner by his own Slaves, and put into a sorry Cart, cover'd over with Skins. The *King's* Money and Furniture, is rifled and plunder'd, as if it had been done by the Laws of War ; and having after this manner loaded themselves with Booty, the Wages of the vilest Impiety, they fled.

Artabazus, with those under his Command, and the *Greek* Troops, march'd towards *Parthia*, thinking themselves to be safer any where than in the Society of *Parricides* ; as for the *Persians* (*Bessus* having made 'em vast Promises, but chiefly because they had no Body else to follow ;) they join'd

join'd the *Bactrians*. However, that it might not be said they did not Honour their *King*, they bestow'd golden Fetters upon *Darius*, *Fortune seeming industrious to find out new ways to insult this Prince*. Now that he might not be known by his Apparel, they cover'd the Cart, as we said before with sordid Skins, and caus'd it to be drawn by Strangers, that *he* might not be discover'd to any that should enquire after him, the Guards following at a distance.

C H A P. XIII.

Alexander being inform'd *Darius* was broke up from *Ecbatana*, leaving the Road that led to *Media*, resolv'd to follow him with the utmost diligence. While he was at *Tabas*, which is a Town situate in the extreme Parts of the *Paratacene*, Deserters acquaint him, that *Darius* was making all the haste he could to get into the *Bactriana*. Afterwards he was more certainly inform'd by *Bagysthenes* the *Babylonian*, That the King was not as yet in Chains, but was in the greatest Danger, either of losing his Life or being made a Prisoner.

The King having therefore call'd a Council, told 'em, *We have still to execute a matter of the greatest Consequence, but the Labour will be very short; for Darius is not far from hence, either deserted or slain by his own Men. Our Victory depends on our making our selves Master of his Person, and this mighty thing is to be compass'd by Expedition.* To which they all reply'd, *That they were ready to follow him wherever he pleased, and desir'd him neither to spare their Labour or their Lives.* Hereupon he led the Army with such Expedition that

it

it resembled more a Race than a March, he did not so much as let 'em rest in the Night. After this manner he march'd five hundred Furlongs, and was now come to the Place where *Bessus* had seiz'd *Darius*. Here *Melon*, *Darius's* Interpreter, is taken Prisoner; for being Sick, *he* had not been able to follow the Army, so that finding himself surpriz'd by *Alexander's* Expedition he feign'd himself a Defeater. By this Man he was inform'd of every thing, but it was now requisite to give his Army rest, *he* therefore made choice of six thousand Horse, to whom *he* added three hundred of those they call *Dimache*, these were heavy arm'd Horse, but if Occasion and the Place requir'd it they serv'd also on foot.

While *Alexander* was thus employ'd, *Orsillos* and *Mythracenes*, who detested *Bessus's* Parricide, surrendred themselves to *him*, and acquainted *him*, that the Persians were five hundred Furlongs off, but they would shew *him* a nearer Way. The King receiv'd them graciously, and in the beginning of the Night taking them for his Guides, he set forwards with the light Horse, commanding the *Phalanx* to follow as fast as they could. *He* march'd in a square Body, and so moderated his speed as not to leave any of *his* Men behind *him*; they had already march'd three hundred Furlongs when *Brocubelus*, *Mazeus's* Son, (who had been heretofore Governor of *Syria*, but was now also come over to *Alexander*,) inform'd *him*, That *Bessus* was but two hundred Furlongs off; and that *his* Army (which mistrusted nothing) observ'd no manner of Order in their March; that they seem'd to make towards *Hircania*, and if *he* hasten'd his March, *he* might come suddenly upon 'em as they were dispers'd up and down. *He* told *him* also, that *Darius* was still alive.

This Account made *him* still more eager to overtake him, so that clapping Spurs to their Horses they made all the haste they could : After some time they came within the noise of the Enemy, but the Clouds of Dust intercepted the sight of 'em ; *he* therefore now abated his speed to give the Dust time to settle again upon the Ground. In a little time they were discover'd by the *Barbarians*, whose flying Army they likewise perceiv'd ; and, in all probability, would have had the worst of it, if *Bessus* had been as resolute to Fight, as he had shewn himself to commit the Parricide ; for the *Barbarians* were much superior in Number and Strength, besides, they were fresh, whereas *Alexander's* Army was fatigu'd. But the very Name of *Alexander*, and his Fame, which are of great Moment in War, made 'em take to their Heels. *Bessus*, and the rest of his Associates, came now to *Darius*, and desir'd *him* to get on Horseback, and make his escape from the Enemy ; but he refus'd it, and told 'em, *That the avenging Gods were at hand* : And invoking *Alexander's* Justice, said, *He would not follow any longer Parricides*. This so inflam'd their Anger, that they cast their Darts at *him*, and having given *him* several Wounds they left *him* ; they also wounded the Horses that drew *him*, that they might not be able to go any farther, killing likewise the two Servants that attended on the King.

After the Commission of this Villany they took different Courses in their Flight, *Nabarzanes* made towards *Hircania*, and *Bessus* towards *Bactriana*, being accompany'd with only a small Number of Horsemen. The *Barbarians* being forsaken by their Leaders, dispers'd themselves here and there, according as they were directed by Fear or Hope ; about five hundred Horse had got together, and seem'd.

seem'd unresolv'd, whether they should defend themselves or fly.

Alexander understanding the Enemies Consternation, detach'd *Nicanor* with part of his Cavalry to stop the Enemies Flight, and follow'd himself with the remainder. About three thousand of those who made Resistance were kill'd, and the rest were driven like Sheep or Cattle, without any farther Mischiefe, the *King* having given Orders to abstain from shedding any more Blood. None of the Prisoners could give any Account of *Darius*; every one examin'd strictly whatever he could lay his Hands on, and yet they could not make any discovery of him.

Alexander made such violent haste that he had hardly three thousand Horse with him, but several Bodies of the Fugitives fell into the Hands of those that follow'd him. It is almost incredible, that there should be more Prisoners than there was Men to take 'em; Fear had so robb'd 'em of all manner of Sense, that they could not so much as reflect either on the inconsiderable Number of the Enemy, or their own Multitude.

In the mean time, the Cattle that drew *Darius* having no Body to govern them, were got out of the Highway, and having wander'd about four Furlongs stopp'd in a certain Valley, being faint both by their Wounds and the Heat. There was a Spring not far off, which some of the Country had shew'd to *Polystratus*, a *Macedonian*, who was almost perishing with Thirst. While he was here drinking Water out of his Helmet, he observ'd the Darts that stuck in the Bodies of the wounded Cattle; and wondring they were not rather taken away than kill'd, he perceiving at the same time the Voice of a Man half dead, out of a natural Curiosity could not help reaching into the

the Waggon to discover what might be hid there, and so removing the Skins which cover'd it, he found *Darius* there, wounded in several parts of his Body. *Darius* understood something of the Greek Language, and upon this Occasion said, *That at least it was a Comfort to him in his present Calamity, that he had the Opportunity of speaking to one that understood him, and so should not utter his dying Words in vain ; he order'd him therefore to tell Alexander, That tho' he had never deserv'd any thing at his Hands, yet it was his Lot to dye very much indebted to him for his good Offices. That he gave him a great many Thanks for the Civilities he had shewn his Mother, Wife and Children, to whom he had not only granted Life, but maintain'd also according to their former Rank and Dignity ; whereas he was depriv'd of all these Blessings by his own Kinsmen and Friends, to whom he had given both Life and Kingdoms. That he therefore, out of Gratitude begg'd of the Gods, that they would bless his Arms and make him Conqueror of the whole World. That he hop'd he would not neglect revenging the base Usage he had receiv'd from Traytors, not only on his private Account, but for Example sake, and the good of all Kings, since it would be no less Glorious to him than Beneficial. He was now faint, and call'd for some Water, which being brought to him by *Polystratus*, he drank, and then said to him, *Whoever thou art, it adds to all my other Misfortunes, that I have not wherewith to acknowledge this great Kindness ; but Alexander will do it for me, and the Gods will reward him for his extraordinary Humanity and Clemency towards my Family ; thou shalt give him therefore my Hand as the only Pledge I have of the sincerity of my Wishes.**

Having utter'd these Words, and taken *Polystratus* by the Hand he expir'd ; when *Alexander* was.

was inform'd of it *he* came to the Place, and reflecting how unworthy that Death was of his high Rank, he wept, and taking off his Cloak spread it over the dead Body; afterwards *he* caus'd it to be dress'd in royal Apparel, and sent it to *Sysigambis* to be bury'd after the manner of the *Kings of Persia*, among the Royal Tombs of his Ancestors.



QUINTUS



QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.



WHILE these Things were transacting in *Asia*, there happen'd some disturbance in *Greece* and *Macedonia*. *Agis*, the Son of *Archidamus*, who was slain as he assisted the *Tarentins*, on the same Day that *Philip* overcame the *Athenians* near *Charonea*. This Prince, out of an Emulation to *Alexander's* Courage and Vertue, solicited his Citizens not to suffer *Greece* to be any longer oppress'd by the *Macedonians*; for if a Remedy were not apply'd in time, they would not fail to be enslav'd after the same manner; it was necessary therefore, he said, to exert themselves while the *Persians* were still able to make some resistance; that if they staid till they were quite reduc'd, it would be to no purpose then to assert their ancient Freedom against so mighty a Power. The *Lacedemonians* being stir'd up by this Speech, only waited for a favourable Opportunity to begin the War; and being encourag'd by *Memnon's* Success,

Success, they began to join their Counsels to his, and notwithstanding *he* was taken off in the beginning of his prosperous *Career*, they still pursu'd their Measures with the same vigour. *Agis* went to *Pharnabazus* and *Autophradates*, and obtain'd from them thirty Talents and ten Galleys, which *he* sent to his Brother *Agésilas*, to enable him to pass into *Creet*, whose Inhabitants were divided in their Affections to the *Lacedemonians* and *Macedonians*. Ambassadors were also sent to *Darius* to solicit for a larger Sum of Money, and a greater Number of Ships; and altho' the *Persians* had been lately defeated near *Issus*, it was so far from being a hindrance to their obtaining their Demands, that it made them more readily comply therewith; for as *Alexander* was intent on his pursuit after *Darius*, who led him still farther into the Countrey, a great Number of the hir'd Troops, after this Battel, fled into *Greece*; so that *Agis*, by the means of the *Persian* Money, took eight thousand of 'em into his Service, and by their Assistance retook the greatest part of the *Cretan* Towns. But when *Memnon*, whom *Alexander* had sent into *Thrace*, had stir'd up the *Barbarians* to revolt, and *Antipater* was march'd with an Army from *Macedonia* to compose those Troubles: The *Lacedemonians* laying hold of that Opportunity, brought almost all *Peloponnesus* (except a few Towns) over to their Interest, and having raised an Army of twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, gave the command of it to *Agis*. *Antipater* being inform'd hereof, settled the Affairs of *Thrace* as well as he could, return'd to *Greece* with all possible Diligence, and there gather'd what Forces he could from the Friends and *Cities* that were in Alliance with *Alexander*; so that in a little time he found himself at the Head of forty thousand effective Men. There came to
him

him also a strong Body from *Peloponnesus*, but as he had some distrust of 'em, he dissembled his Suspicion, and thank'd 'em for *shewing themselves so ready to defend Alexander's Dignity against the Lacedemonians* ; and assur'd them, *he would not fail to acquaint the King therewith, who in time would also thank them himself ; but at the present he did not want any farther Reinforcement ; that therefore they might return home, having sufficiently discharged the Obligations of their Alliance.*

Then he dispatch'd Expresses to *Alexander* to acquaint him with the Commotions in *Greece*, who overtook him at *Bactra*. In the mean time *Antipater* obtain'd a compleat Victory in *Arcadia*, *Agis* being kill'd in the Battel.

However, *Alexander* (being inform'd before of these Disturbances in *Greece*) had taken all the proper Measures against 'em, which the distance of Place could allow ; for he had order'd *Amphoterus* to sail to *Peloponnesus* with the *Cyprian* and *Phœnician* Ships, and had also directed *Menes* to convoy three thousand Talents to the Sea side, that he might be near at hand to supply *Antipater* with what Money he should know he wanted. He knew very well of what moment the issue of these Troubles might prove to all his other Affairs, and yet when he was inform'd of the Victory obtain'd by *Antipater*, comparing that Action with his own Atchievements, he in derision call'd it the Battel of the Mice ; yet in the beginning of this War the *Lacedemonians* were not unsuccessful ; for encountring with *Antipater's* Forces near *Corrhagus*, a Castle in *Macedonia*, they had the Advantage, the report of which Success drew over to their Party, those whose Minds were in suspense till they saw which way Fortune would incline : There was but one Town among the *Eleans* and *Achaons*, viz. *Pellene*, that did not enter into their Alliance :

their Alliance: In *Arcadia*, *Megalopolis* also remain'd faithful to the *Macedonians*, out of respect to *Philip's* Memory, from whom they had received Favours; but at the same time it was closely besieg'd, and could not have held out long had not *Antipater* come seasonably to its relief; who having pitch'd his Camp not far from that of the Enemy's, and finding himself, upon a Comparison of his and their Strength, not only superior to them in Number of Men, but also in all military Provisions, he resolv'd to come to an Engagement as soon as ever he could. On the other side, the *Lacedemonians* did not decline coming to an Engagement, so that a Battel was fought that very much afflicted the *Spartan Affairs*; for, confiding in the straitness of the Place where they fought (which render'd the Enemy's advantage in Number almost of no use to them) they behav'd themselves gallantly for a while; nor did the *Macedonians* shew less vigour in their Resistance, which occasion'd a great deal of Blood to be spilt on both Sides; but *Antipater* sending seasonably fresh Succours to that part of his Army that labour'd most, the *Lacedemonians* were oblig'd at last to give Ground. *Agis* no sooner perceiv'd this, but with the Royal Regiment (which was compos'd of the stoutest Men) he flung himself where the Fight was sharpest, and killing those who were most forward to resist, he drove a great part of the Enemies before him. They who were before victorious, now began to fly, till they drew their too eager Pursuers into the open Plain; a great many were kill'd in the Flight, but the *Macedonians* had no sooner gain'd a Ground where they could rally and recover their Order, but they renew'd the Fight, which was for a while continued with equal Bravery on both Sides. Of all the *Lacedemonians* the King distinguish'd himself

most, he was not only remarkable by his Arms and Person, but also by his Greatness of Soul, in which alone *he* was invincible : *He* was attack'd on all Sides, both at a distance and near at hand, yet he maintain'd the Fight a considerable time, receiving some of the Darts in his Buckler, and declining others by his extraordinary Agility, till being at last run thro' both his Thighs with a Spear, and having lost a great quantity of Blood, his Strength fail'd him. Then his Attendants took him upon his Buckler, and carry'd him in haste to the Camp, tho' the violent Motion was very painful to him by reason of his Wounds. The *Lacedemonians* did not for this leave off Fighting, but as soon as ever the Ground was more favourable to them than the Enemy, they clos'd their Ranks, and gallantly receiv'd their furious Charges. It is believ'd there never was a more desperate Fight than this, wherein were engag'd the Armies of the two most warlike Nations in the World, and for a considerable time with equal Advantage. The *Lacedemonians* reflected on their former Glory, and the *Macedonians* were animated by their present Grandure ; those fought for Liberty, and these for Sovereignty : The *Lacedemonians* wanted a Head, and the *Macedonians* were straiten'd for room. The various Changes and Accidents of this Day were such as sometimes encreas'd the Hope, and sometimes the Fear of both Parties, as if Fortune had on purpose equally dispens'd her Favours to these brave Men. But the straitness of the Place where the Fight was still obstinate, and the Victory wavering, would not permit the whole Forces to engage, so that there were more Spectators than Combatants, and those on each side who were out of the cast of the Darts, encourag'd their Companions by their Acclamations. However, the *Lacedemonians* began now
to

to faint, and could hardly hold their Arms, that were slippery with Blood and Sweat, so that the Enemy still pressing upon them, they at first gave way, and were at last put to an open Flight. The Conqueror pursued the scatter'd Forces, and having pass'd over all the Ground the *Lacedemonian* Army at first took up, was in pursuit of *Agis* himself. But *he* no sooner beheld his Men flying, and the Enemy drawing near *him*, than *he* commanded those who carry'd *him* to set *him* down, and then try'd whether his Limbs were able to second his Resolution; but finding they were not, he plac'd himself on his Knees, and having put on his Helmet, and cover'd *his* Body with *his* Buckler, *he* with *his* Right Hand shak'd *his* Spear, and challeng'd any of the Enemies to come and take away *his* Spoils. Not one of 'em dar'd to come near *him*, but a great many cast their Darts at him afar off, which he return'd again upon the Enemy, till at last one of 'em lodg'd it self in his naked Breast. The same was no sooner pull'd out of his Wound but he grew faint, and gently lean'd his Head on his Buckler, and soon after resigning his Spirit with his Blood, he fell dead upon his Arms.

There were slain of the *Lacedemonians* five thousand three hundred and sixty, and of the *Macedonians* three hundred; but there hardly return'd to the Camp a single Person that was not wounded. This Victory did not only quell the *Spartans* and their Confederates, but disappointed all those who depended on their Success. *Antipater* was not unsensible that the Hearts of those that congratulated his Victory did not agree with their outward Appearance, but as he desir'd to put an End to the War, it was necessary for him to be deceiv'd; and notwithstanding he was pleas'd with his Success, yet he was afraid of *Envy*, because what he had

done exceeded his Station ; for tho' *Alexander* was very desirous to have his Enemies overcome, yet *he* could not easily brook that *Antipater* should be the Conqueror, for he look'd upon that Honour that was granted to another, to be a derogation to his own. This was the reason why *Antipater* (who knew his Disposition perfectly) did not dare to conclude any thing upon the Victory, but had recourse to the Council of *Greece* to determine what was fit to be done. The *Lacedemonians* desir'd nothing more of it than that they might be allow'd to send Ambassadors to the King, which being granted he readily pardon'd 'em all, except the Authors of the Rebellion. The *Megalopolitans*, whose City was besieg'd after the defection, were order'd to pay to the *Acheans* and *Ætolians* one hundred and twenty Talents. Thus ended this War, which being kindled on the sudden, was nevertheless finish'd before *Alexander* defeated *Darius* at *Arbela*.

CHAP. II.

A *Alexander*, whose *Genius* was better qualify'd for the Toils of War, than for Ease and Quiet, no sooner found himself deliver'd from Military Cares, but he presently gave himself up to all manner of Voluptuousness ; and he that had shewn himself invincible to the Arms of the *Persians*, was easily subdu'd by Vice. He delighted in unseasonable Entertainments, and would pass whole Nights in Drinking and Revelling, having with him Crowds of Prostitutes ; in a word, *he* struck into all the foreign Manners, as if he thought them preferable to those of his own Countrey, and by that procedure offended both the Eyes and
Minds

Minds of his own People to such a degree as to be look'd upon by the major part of 'em as an Enemy; for *he* in a manner forc'd the *Macedonians* (who were tenacious of their own frugal Discipline, and were accusom'd to relieve the Wants of Nature with a cheap Diet, and such as was easily procu'd) to indulge the foreign Vices of the conquer'd Nations. This occasion'd several Conspiracies against him, the Soldiers mutin'd, and in the highth of their Grief would speak their Minds freely; hence proceeded his groundless Suspicions, his indiscreet Fears, and other Evils of the like Nature, which we shall hereafter give an Account of.

As *Alexander* therefore pass'd the Nights as well as Days in unseasonable Feasting, he reliev'd the satiety of these Entertainments with Plays and Musick, and was not contented with such Performers as he had from *Greece*, but order'd also the Women that were Prisoners to sing after their manner, whose uncouth and barbarous Songs were altogether disagreeable to the *Macedonians*, who were strangers to it. Among these Women he observ'd one to be more dejected than the rest, and seem'd modestly to resist those who would introduce her for that purpose; she was a perfect Beauty, and her becoming Modesty made her Charms still more conspicuous. Her cast down Eyes, and the Care she took to hide her Face as much as she could, gave the King some reason to suspect she was of too high Rank to be expos'd at those ludicrous Entertainments; he therefore ask'd her, *Who she was?* She answer'd, *She was grand Daughter to Ochus, who not long ago had been King of Persia, and whose Son was her Father; and that she was married to Histaspes, who was himself a Relation of Darius, and had had the Command of a considerable Army.* The King retain'd yet some

small remains of *his* former Vertues, respecting therefore in *her* Adversity, *her* Royal Extraction, and so celebrated a Name as was that of *Ochus*; *he* not only commanded *her* to be set at liberty, but also to be restor'd to all *her* Possessions, and gave Orders to have *her* Husband found out that *he* might restore *her* to him.

The next Day after *he* gave Orders to *Hephestion* to cause all the Captives to be brought before *him*, and having examin'd into every one's Extraction, *he* separated those that were nobly descended from the rest. These were ten in Number, amongst whom was *Oxathres*, *Darius's* Brother, who was not less deserving for his natural Endowments than for his eminent Rank. The last Booty amounted to twenty six thousand Talents, of which Sum twelve thousand were distributed among the Soldiers by the way of *Donative*; and the like Sum was embezell'd by those who had the Care thereof.

At this time there was a Nobleman of *Persia*, whose Name was *Oxydates*, still detain'd in Prison, and was destin'd by *Darius* to suffer capital Punishment; *Alexander* not only set him at Liberty but also conferr'd upon him the Satrapship of *Media*. As for *Darius's* Brother, *he* receiv'd him into the Band of his Friends, and preserv'd to him all the Honour due to his illustrious Birth.

From hence *he* march'd into *Parthiene*, which was then a contemptible Nation, but at this time is the most considerable of all those that lie behind the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, and extends it self as far as the Red Sea. The *Scythians* made themselves Masters of this champian, fruitful Countrey; and are troublesome enough to their Neighbours, they have Territories likewise in *Europe* and *Asia*; those who inhabit above the *Bosphorus* belong to *Asia*, and those that are in *Europe*, enjoy the Countreys that
lie

lie on the Left of *Thrace*, as far as the *Borysthenes*, and from thence to the *Tanais*, another River. The *Tanais* runs between *Europe* and *Asia*; and it is no way doubted, but the *Scythians*, from whence the *Parthians* descend, came not from the *Bosphorus*, but out of *Europe*.

There was at this time a famous City call'd *Hecatomphylos*, which had been built by the *Greeks*. Here the King remain'd some Time, being supply'd with Provisions from all Parts. While he encamp'd in this Place, a sudden Rumor arose, without any other Ground or Author than the wanton Idleness of the Army; That the King *being contented with what he had done, design'd to return forthwith to Macedonia*. The Soldiers hereupon run to their Tents, like mad Men, and pack up their Baggage; one would have thought the Signal had already been given to decamp.

The Camp was now all in Confusion, some running up and down to seek their Comrades, and others loading the Waggon; so that it came at last to the King's Ears. This Rumor was strengthened by those *Greeks* whom *Alexander* had dismiss'd, with Orders to return to their own Homes, having given six thousand *Denarij* to each Trooper, and from hence the rest of the Army concluded that the War was at an End.

Alexander, who had resolv'd within himself to pass into *India*, and the remotest Parts of the East, was no less alarm'd hereat, than the Consequence of the thing requir'd; he therefore order'd all the General Officers to repair to his Tent, and there with Tears in his Eyes, complain'd to them, *That he was stop'd in the middle of his glorious Career, and compell'd to return home more like one that was conquer'd than a Conqueror; and this not thro' the Cowardice of his Army, but the Envy of the Gods, who had on the sudden, insus'd into the Minds of*

The brave Men that compos'd it, a longing Desire to see their own Countrey, whither in a little time he intended to lead 'em himself, loaded with Honor and Glory. Hereupon every one of them offer'd afresh their Service to him, and begg'd to be employ'd in the most difficult Undertakings; assuring him, He need not doubt of the Soldiers ready Obedience, if he would but make them a proper Speech, suitable to the present Occasion; since they were never known to depart from him in the least, dispirited or dejected, whenever he thought fit to diffuse amongst 'em his own Alacrity, and some Portion of the Vigor of his great and noble Mind. He therefore promis'd to do as they desir'd, and order'd them to go and prepare their Ears for his purpose; and having maturely consider'd with himself all that was requisite on this Occasion, he order'd the Army to be drawn out, and then made the following Speech to 'em.

CHAP. III.

I*T is not to be wonder'd at, Soldiers, that when you look back on the many great Things we have done, a Desire of Rest, and a Satiety of Glory, should steal upon you. For, passing over the Illyrians, the Triballi, Bœotia, Thrace, Sparta, the Achæans, and Peloponnesians, all whom I have subdu'd either in Person, or by my Appointment and Directions; we enter'd upon a War at the Hellespont, and deliver'd the Ionians and Æolia from the cruel Servitude of the Barbarians, and have made our selves Masters of Caria, Lydia, Cappadocia, Phrygia, Paphlagonia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Cilicia, Syria, Phœnicia, Armenia, Persia, Media, and Parthiene. I have conquer'd more Provinces, than others have taken Towns; and I cannot tell, but in
this*

this Recital, the great Number may have made me still forget some. If therefore I were certain, these Countreys we have over-run in so short a Time, would remain firm to us, I would then, even against your Wills, Soldiers, be for returning to my household Gods, to my Mother, and Sisters, and the rest of my Citizens, that I might there chiefly enjoy with you, the Praise and Glory we have acquir'd; where we can have a full Fruition of the Rewards of our Victories, in the joyful Conversation of our Children, Wives, and Parents, in a profound Peace and secure Rest, and an undisturb'd Possession of the Fruits of our Bravery. But as our Empire is yet new, and (if we will speak the Truth) even precarious; since the Barbarians bear our Yoke at present but with a stiff Neck, it is Time, Soldiers, that must tame their Minds, and soften their savage Temper. Do we not see, that the very Fruits of the Earth, require their proper Seasons to ripen in? So great an Influence has Time even over those Things that are void of Sense. Can you imagine then, that so many Nations, enur'd to the Empire and Name of another, disagreeing with us in Religion and Manners, as well as Language, can be perfectly subdu'd the Day they are overcome? No, Soldiers, it is your Arms that restrain 'em, and not their Wills: And tho' your Presence keeps them in awe, when once you are absent, they'll declare themselves your Enemies. We have to do with wild Beasts, which when taken and shut up, are tam'd by length of Time; a thing not to be hop'd for otherwise, from their own fierce Natures. I am talking all this while as if we had wholly subdu'd all Darius's Dominions; but that's a Mistake, for Nabarzanes possesses Hyrcania, and Bessus has not only seiz'd Bactriana, but also threatens us: Besides the Sogdians, the Dahæ, the Massagetæ, the Sacæ, and the Indians, are yet unconquer'd. All these as soon as our Backs are turn'd will pursue

us, for they may be said to be of the same Nation, not Strangers and Foreigners. And it is observable, that all Nations more willingly obey their own Sovereigns, tho' their Government be never so harsh. We must therefore, Soldiers, either resign what we have with so much Pains acquir'd, or subdue the rest. For as Physicians leave nothing in the Bodies of their Patients that can endanger a Relapse, so must we lop off whatever can annoy or resist our Empire. A small Spark neglected, has often been the Cause of great Conflagrations. Nothing can safely be despis'd in an Enemy: Whomsoever you contemn, becomes more courageous by your Negligence. Darius himself did not come to the Persian Empire, by Right of Hereditary Succession, but got into Cyrus's Throne, through the Interest of Bagoas the Eunuch, that you may not think it so difficult a Task for Bessus to take Possession of a vacant Kingdom. But, Soldiers, we have certainly committed a great Crime, if we conquer'd Darius to no other purpose but to deliver up his Dominions to one of his Servants, who with the utmost Audaciousness kept his Sovereign in Chains at the time he stood most in need of Assistance, and to whom we that had conquer'd him, had certainly shewn Mercy; and at last barbarously murdered him, to rob us of the Glory of preserving him. Will you after all this, suffer such a Wretch to reign? whom I long to see nail'd to a Cross, and by that ignominious Death, make ample Satisfaction to all Kings and Nations, for his execrable Treachery. But if upon our Return home, you should immediately hear that this Villain was burning the Greek Towns, and laying waste the Hellespont; how sensibly you'd be griev'd, that Bessus should run away with the Reward of your Victories! How quickly would you arm! What Haste would you then make to recover your own! But is it not much better to suppress him at once, while he is still full of Apprehension, and
hardly

hardly knows what to do ? We have but four Days March to come at him ; we who have made our Way through so many deep Snows, pass'd so many Rivers, and climb'd over so many Mountains : We shall meet with no Sea to stop our March, neither shall have the Straits of Cilicia, to obstruct our Passage, all the Way is plain and open : We may be said to stand at the very Door of Victory : We have only a few Fugitives and Ruffians to reduce. It will be a glorious Work, and deserve to be transmitted to Posterity amongst your most memorable Atchievements, that you were so far from suffering your Hatred to Darius, who was your Enemy, to continue after his Death, that you even took Satisfaction of his Parricides, not suffering any wicked Person to escape unpunished. This once done, how much more willingly will the Persians obey us, when they come to understand that you undertake pious Wars, and that it is Bessus's Crime, and not his Name you are offended at ?

C H A P. VI.

THIS Speech was receiv'd by the Soldiers with all possible Chearfulness, and they desir'd him to lead them wherever he thought fit. The King therefore laid hold of their present Disposition, and passing through *Parthiene*, he came the third Day to the Borders of *Hircania*, where he left *Craterus* with the Forces he commanded, and those that were under *Amyntas*, adding thereto six hundred Horse, and as many Archers, with Orders to secure *Parthiene*, from the Incurfions of the *Barbarians*. He gave to *Erygius* the Care of the Baggage, appointing him a small Body for that purpose, and commanded him to march along the

plain Countrey, while he himself with the *Phalanx* and Cavalry, having march'd a hundred and fifty Furlongs, incamp'd in a Valley at the Entrance into *Hyrkania*. Here there is a Wood, the Trees whereof are very tall, and stand thick, so that it is very shady, and the Soil of the Valley is very fat, being plentifully water'd by the Streams that descend from the Rocks. At the Foot of these Hills the River *Zioberis* rises, which for the Space of three Furlongs runs entire in one Channel, and afterwards is divided by a Rock, and so pursues two different Courses between which it dispenses all its Waters. At some distance it unites again, and runs in a rapid Stream like a Torrent, and by reason of the Rocks through which it passes, becomes more violent, and then precipitates it self under Ground, pursuing its subterranean Course for the space of three hundred Furlongs, and then rises again as from a new Spring, and cuts it self a new Channel much larger than its first, it being thirteen Furlongs in Breadth: After which, contracting it self again, it runs between straiter Banks, and at last falls into another River call'd *Rhidagus*. The Inhabitants affirm, that whatever is cast into the Cave nearest its Source, and where it first hides it self under Ground, comes out at the other Mouth, where the River opens its self, when it appears again. *Alexander* therefore caus'd two Bulls to be cast into it where the Waters enter the Earth, whose Bodies were afterwards seen, where the River breaks out again, by those who were sent to examine into that Matter. In this Place *Alexander* had rested his Army four Days, when he received Letters from *Nabarzanes* (who had conspir'd with *Bessus* against *Darius*) to this effect: *That he had never been Darius's Enemy: That on the contrary, he had always advis'd him to what he thought most conducing to his Advantage and Interest; for*
which

which faithful Counsel he had like to have been kill'd by him. That Darius entertain'd some Thoughts of committing the Guard of his Person to Foreigners; which was not only against all Law and Reason, but a great Reflection on his own Subjects Fidelity, which they had preserv'd inviolate to their Kings, for the space of two hundred and thirty Years: That finding himself in so doubtful and dangerous a Condition, he had took that Counsel which the present Necessity of his Circumstances had suggested to him. That Darius having kill'd Bagoas, had satisfy'd his People with no other Excuse, than that he had kill'd him who was plotting and contriving his Death. There is nothing so dear to wretched Mortals as Life, out of Love to which, he had been driven to the last Extremities; but however, he had been forc'd thereto by irresistible Necessity, it being far from his own Inclination and Choice: That in general Calamities, every one is apt to consult his own Interest and Welfare: However, if he thought fit to command him to come to him, he would readily obey him without the least Apprehension or Fear; for he could not suppose that so great a King would violate his Promise, it not being usual for the Gods to deceive one another. That if he did not think him worthy the Honour of his Royal Word, there were Places enow where he could be safe, and that all Countreys were alike to a brave Man.

Hereupon Alexander made no Difficulty to give him his Royal Security (after the manner the Persians are us'd to receive the same) *that if he came, he should not be injur'd.* Notwithstanding which, he march'd his Army in Order of Battel, sending Scouts before him, to discover the Places he was to pass through. The light-arm'd Troops compos'd the Van, then follow'd the Phalanx, and the Baggage came in the Rear of that. As they were a warlike Nation, and the Situation of the Countrey

trej was ſuch as render'd it of difficult Access, the King thought it proper to be the more circumſpect and wary in his March: For the Valley extends it ſelf as far as the *Caspian* Sea, and ſeems to ſtretch it ſelf out in two Arms, the middle whereof ſtrikes into a Hollow, ſo that it reſembles the Horns of the Moon, before that Planet fills up its Orb. On the Left are the *Cerceta*, the *Moſyni*, and *Chalybes*, and on the other ſide are the *Leucocyri*, and the Plains of the *Amazons*; it has thoſe to the Northward, and theſe to the Weſtward. The *Caspian* Sea-Water not being ſo brackiſh as that of others, feeds Serpents of a prodigious Bigneſs, and Fiſh of a quite different Colour from thoſe of other Seas. Some call it the *Caspian*, and others the *Hyrceanian* Sea. Some ſay, that the *Palus Maotis* falls into it, and bring that for an Argument why this Sea's Waters are ſweeter than thoſe of others. When the North Wind blows, it ſwells the Sea, and forces it violently on the Shore, carrying its Waves a great way into the Countrey, where it ſtagnates for ſome time, till the Heavens changing their Aſpect, theſe Waters return to the Sea again with the ſame Impetuoſneſs they firſt broke their Bounds, and ſo reſtore the Land to its own Nature. Some have been of Opinion, that theſe Waters do not come from the *Caspian* Sea, but do fall from *India* into *Hyrkania*, whoſe lofty Situation (as we ſaid before) by degrees ſinks into this perpetual Vale. From whence the King march'd twenty Furlongs by a Way almoſt impaſſable, having a Wood hanging in a manner over it; beſides which Difficulties, the Torrents and Standing Waters obſtructed his Paſſage, but as no Enemy appear'd, he made a ſhift to get through it: And at laſt marching farther on, he came into a better Countrey, which beſides other Proviſions with which it abounded, there was great
Plenty

Plenty of Apples, and the Soil was very proper for Vines. There is also a kind of Tree that is very common here, and very much resembles an Oak, whose Leaves are in the Night laden with Honey, but unless the Inhabitants gather it before the Sun rises, the least Heat thereof consumes it.

The King having march'd thirty Furlongs farther, was met by *Phrataphernes*, who surrender'd himself to him, and all those who had fled with him, after *Darius's* Death. *Alexander* receiv'd him graciously, and afterwards arriv'd at a Town call'd *Arvas*. Here *Craterus* and *Erigyus* join'd him, bringing along with them *Phradates*, who had the Government of the *Tapurians*. The King's taking him also into his Protection, was an Example to a great many others, to trust themselves to his Clemency. He afterwards appointed *Menapis* Governor of *Hyrkania*, who had in *Ochus's* Reign, taken Refuge with King *Philip*. He likewise restor'd to *Phradates* the Government of the *Tapurian* Nation.

C H A P. V.

A *Alexander* was now come to the utmost Bounds of *Hyrkania*, when *Artabazus* (who as we before took notice, had always firmly adher'd to *Darius*) came to him with *Darius's* Relations, his own Children, and a Body of *Greek* Soldiers. The King immediately offer'd him his Right-hand, for he had been formerly entertain'd by *Philip*, when in *Ochus's* Reign, he had been forc'd to fly from his Countrey. But the chief Cause of his receiving him so kindly, was his firm Adherence to his Prince's Interest to the last. Finding himself therefore so graciously receiv'd, he address'd himself to the King in these Words: *Long may you reign in perpetual*

perpetual Felicity. As for my own part, I am sufficiently happy on all other Accounts: I have but one Grievance, and that is, that my advanc'd Age will not permit me to enjoy your Goodness long. He was in the ninety fifth Year of his Age, and was accompany'd by his nine Sons which he had all of one Woman: These he also presented to the King, and wish'd *they might live so long, as they might be serviceable to his Majesty.*

Alexander for the most part walk'd on foot, but then *he order'd Horses to be brought for himself and Artabazus*, lest if *he walk'd himself on Foot*, the old Man should be asham'd to ride. Afterwards having pitch'd his Camp, *he order'd the Greeks who came along with Artabazus, to be brought before him.* But they made answer, *that unless he took the Lacedemonians also into his Protection, they would deliberate amongst themselves what Measures they should take.* They were Ambassadors from the Lacedemonians to Darius, who being overcome, they join'd those Greeks that were in the Persian Service. But *Alexander* without giving them any Promise or Security, commanded them *to come immediately and submit to what he should allot them.* They demurr'd upon the Matter some time, being of different Opinions; however, at last they promis'd to come. But *Democrates the Athenian*, being conscious to himself, that he had always oppos'd as much as he could the Macedonians Prosperity, despairing of Pardon, run himself through with his Sword, the rest according to their Agreement, surrender'd themselves to *Alexander.* They were fifteen hundred Soldiers of them, besides fourscore and ten, who had been sent Ambassadors to Darius. The greatest part of the Soldiers were distributed among the Troops by way of Recruit, and the rest were sent home. As for the Lacedemonians, *he commanded them to be kept*

in Custody. The *Mardians* are a Nation bordering upon *Hyrcania*, a hardy People, and accustomed to live by thieving: They alone neither sent *Ambassadors* to *Alexander*, nor gave the least Token to imagine, they would obey his Orders. This rais'd his Indignation, that a single Nation should hinder him from being thought invincible. Leaving therefore his Baggage under a sufficient Guard, he advanc'd towards them with his best Troops. He had march'd all the Night, and by Break of Day, the Enemy appear'd in sight: But it was rather a tumultuous Alarm than a Fight; for the *Barbarians* were soon driven from the Eminences they possess'd, and put to Flight, and the neighbouring Villages being deserted by the Inhabitants, were plunder'd by the *Macedonians*. But the Army could not penetrate into the more inward Parts of the Countrey, without being much harass'd and fatigu'd. The Tops of the Hills are encompass'd with high Woods, and impassable Rocks, and the *Barbarians* had secur'd by a new kind of Fortification, what was plain and open. The Trees are set thick on purpose, then they with their Hands bend the tender Branches downwards, and having twisted them together, they set them in the Ground again, where taking Root, they put out fresh Branches, which they do not suffer to grow according to the Appointment of Nature; but they so intermix them, that when they are cloath'd with Leaves, they in a manner hide the Ground. Thus the Way was perplex'd with one continu'd Hedge, by the means of these interwoven Boughs, which like so many Snares caught hold of those that pass'd thro' 'em. In this Case there was no Remedy but cutting down the Wood: But this again was a very laborious Task; for the Boles of the Trees were full of Knots, which made them very hard to cut, and the implicated Boughs, like so many
suspended

suspended Circles, by their tender Pliantness gave way, and baulk'd the Force of the Stroke: On the other side the Inhabitants are so habituated to run like wild Beasts among these Coverts, that on this Occasion they enter'd the Wood, and gall'd the Enemy with their Darts. *Alexander* was therefore oblig'd (after the manner of Hunters) first to find out their Haunts, by which means he destroy'd a great many of them, and at last order'd his Army to surround the Wood, and if they found any Entrance, to break through the same. But as they were altogether ignorant of the Countrey, they wander'd up and down like Men lost, and some of 'em were taken by the Enemy, and with them the King's Horse *Bucephalus*, which he did not value after the rate of other Cattle, for he would suffer no Body but *Alexander* to mount him, and whenever he had a Mind to get upon him, he would kneel down and receive him on his Back, as if he was sensible who it was he carry'd. The King therefore being transported with Anger and Grief, even beyond what was decent, order'd his Horse to be sought after, and gave the Barbarians to understand by an Interpreter, that if they did not restore him, not one of them should escape alive. This Declaration so terrify'd them, that they not only restor'd the Horse, but made him also other Presents. However, this did not appease the King's Anger, so that he commanded the Woods to be cut down, and caus'd Earth to be brought to fill up the hollow Part of the intricate Covert. The Work was pretty well advanc'd, when the Barbarians despairing of their being able to defend the Countrey, surrender'd themselves to the King, who receiving Hostages from them, appointed *Phradates* to be their Governor, and on the fifth Day return'd from thence to his Camp, where having confer'd on *Artabazus* double the Honour

Honour *Darius* had bestow'd on him, he sent him home.

Then he continu'd his March to the City of *Hyrkania*, where he was no sooner arriv'd than *Narbarzanes* yielded himself to the King upon his Parole, making him at the same time very noble Presents; among the rest was *Bagoas*, an Eunuch, who was in the flower of his Youth, and had been familiarly us'd by *Darius* formerly, and was now by *Alexander*; it was chiefly at this Eunuch's intreaty that he pardon'd *Narbarzanes*.

The Nation of the *Amazons* (as we said before) borders upon *Hyrkania*, and inhabits the Plains of *Themiseyra*, along the River *Thermoodon*. *Thalestris* was the Name of their Queen, who had in her Subjection all the Countrey that lies between Mount *Caucasus*, and the River *Phasis*. This Queen was come out of her Dominions inflam'd with a desire to see *Alexander*; and being advanc'd pretty near the Place where he was, she sent Messengers before to acquaint him, that the Queen was coming to have the satisfaction of seeing and conversing with him: Having obtain'd admittance, she commanded the rest of her Followers to stay behind, and taking with her three hundred of her Female Militants, she advanc'd. As soon as she came within sight of the King, she leap'd from her Horse, holding two Javelins in her right Hand. The *Amazons* Apparel does not cover all their Bodies, for their left Side is naked down to the Stomach, nor do the Skirts of their Garments (which they tie up in a knot) reach below their Knees. They preserve their left Breast intire that they may be able to suckle their Female Off-spring, and they cut off and sear their Right, that they may draw their Bows, and likewise cast their Darts with the greater ease. *Thalestris* look'd at the King with an undaunted Countenance, and narrowly

rowly view'd his Person, which did not come up to the Fame of his great Exploits ; for the *Barbarians* have a great Veneration for a majestic Presence, esteeming them only capable of performing great Actions, whom *Nature* has favour'd with an extraordinary Personage. Being ask'd by the King, *Whether she had any thing to desire of him ?* She did not boggle to tell him, *That her Errand was to have Children by him, she being worthy to bring him Heirs to his Dominions ; as for the Female Sex, she would retain that herself, and restore the Male to the Father.* Hereupon *Alexander* ask'd her, *If she would accompany him in his Wars ?* To which she excus'd herself, *with her having left no Body to take care of her Kingdom.* Her Passion being greater than the King's, oblig'd him to stay here a little while, so that he entertain'd her thirteen Days to gratifie her Desire ; after which she return'd to her Kingdom, and the King march'd into *Parthiene*.

C H A P. VI.

HERE he gave a Loose to all his Passions, and laying aside his Continency and Moderation (which are eminent Vertues in an exalted Fortune) deliver'd himself up to Voluptuousness and Pride. He now look'd upon the Manners, Dress, and wholesome Discipline of the Kings of *Macedon*, as things beneath his Grandure, and therefore emulated the *Persian* Pomp, which seem'd to vie with the Majesty of the Gods themselves. He began to suffer the Conquered of so many Nations to prostrate themselves on the Ground, and worship him, and hop'd by degrees to enure 'em to servile Offices, and make them like Slaves. He wore

wore about his Head a purple Diadem, intermix'd with white, and took the *Persian* Habit, without fearing the Omen of passing out of the Dress and distinguishing Tokens of the Conqueror, into those of the Conquer'd; nay, he would say himself, that he wore the *Persian* Spoils, but the misfortune was, that *he* at the same time imbib'd their Manners, for the outward Magnificence of Apparel was follow'd by an inward Insolence of Mind. And notwithstanding *he* still seal'd those Letters *he* sent into *Europe* with his usual Seal, yet he affix'd that of *Darius* to all those he sent into *Asia*; it appearing plain from thence, that one Mind was not capable of the Fortune of both: *He* oblig'd also *his* Friends, *his* Captains and chief Officers of *his* Army to Dress after the *Persian* manner; and tho' within themselves they despis'd the same, yet they did not dare to refuse complying, for fear of incurring his displeasure. The same Number of Concubines that *Darius* had, *viz.* three hundred and sixty, fill'd the Royal Palace, and these were attended by Crowds of *Eunuchs*, who were themselves accusom'd to supply the place of Women. The old Soldiers who had serv'd under *Philip*, publickly detested this Luxury, and foreign Excesses, as being altogether strangers to such Voluptuousness, insomuch that it was the General talk throughout the Camp, *That more was lost by the Victory than gain'd by the War, since they might properly be said to be conquer'd themselves, when they were thus enslav'd to foreign Customs and Manners; and, in fine, all the Reward they were like to receive for their long absence from their native Countrey, was to return Home in captive Habits: That it was high time for 'em to be asham'd of themselves, when they saw their King affect to resemble rather the Conquer'd than the Conquerors, and of King of Macedonia become one of Darius's Satraps.*

As *Alexander* was not ignorant that his Behaviour displeas'd his chiefeft and beft Friends, as well as his Army in general, he endeavour'd to recover their Affection by *his* Liberality and Bounty, but the Rewards of Servitude are always disagreeable to free and noble Souls; that therefore the Discontent might not break out into Sedition, he thought it adviseable to put an end to these Effects of Idleness by the Toils of Wars.

Bessus had now assum'd the Royal Robes, and order'd *himself* to be call'd *Artaxerxes*, and was gathering together the *Scythians*, and the other Inhabitants along the *Tanais*. *Satibarzanes* was the Person that gave *him* this Account, whom *he* had taken into *his* Protection, confirming to him the Government he held before. But finding *his* Army heavy laden with rich Spoils, and other Materials of Luxury, which was a great hindrance to their Expedition in their Movements, *He* first order'd *his own* Baggage to be brought into the middle of the Plain, and then that of all the rest of the Army, excepting only what was absolutely necessary. The Plain into which the laden Carriages were brought, was very spacious and large: Every one now impatiently expecting what would be his next command, *he* order'd the Cattle to be taken away, and then setting fire to *his own* Baggage, *he commanded the rest to do the like to theirs*. It was a great Mortification to set fire themselves to those things they had so often rescu'd from the Flames the Enemy had kindled to destroy 'em; yet no Body dar'd to lament the loss of the reward of his Blood, seeing the King's Furniture underwent the same Fate. This done, *Alexander* made a short Speech to 'em which alleviated their Grief, and they were now pleas'd to find themselves more fit for the Service of the War, and more ready upon all Occasions, rejoicing, *That*
by

by the loss of their Baggage, they had preserv'd their Discipline. They therefore began their March towards *Bactriana*; but *Nicanor*, *Parmenio's* Son being snatch'd away by sudden Death, was a great Affliction to the whole Army. The King was more griev'd thereat than any Body, and would fain have stopt there some time, that he might be present at the Funeral himself, but the scarcity of Provisions oblig'd him to hasten his March; leaving therefore *Philotas* with two thousand six hundred Men to perform the funeral Rites to his Brother, he with the rest of the Army advanc'd towards *Bessus*. As he was upon his March, he receiv'd Advice from the Neighbouring Satraps, that *Bessus* was advancing towards him with an Army in a hostile manner; and that *Satibarzanes*, whom he had lately confirm'd in his Government over the *Arians*, was also revolted from him.

Hereupon, notwithstanding he was intent upon *Bessus*, yet judging it more advisable to suppress *Satibarzanes* first, he took with him the light arm'd Foot, and the Cavalry, and marching with the utmost diligence all the Night, he came unexpectedly upon him. *Satibarzanes* being inform'd of his Arrival, took along with him two thousand Horse (for a greater Number could not be got together in the Hurry and Confusion he was in) fled to *Bactriana*; the rest of his Party sav'd themselves in the neighbouring Mountains. There was a Rock which towards the West was very steep, but to the Eastward was of a more easie and gentle Descent, being cover'd with Wood, and having a Fountain from whence the Water ran in great abundance; it was two and thirty Furlongs in Circumference, the top of it was a green Plain. Here they plac'd the useless Multitude, while they employ'd themselves in casting Stocks of Trees and

2

great

great Stones upon the Enemy. They were about thirteen thousand Men in Arms.

Alexander having left *Craterus* to continue the Siege of the Rock, made all the haste *he* could to overtake *Satibarzanes*, but understanding he had gain'd too much Ground of *him*, *he* return'd to the Siege of those who had posted themselves on the Mountains. At *his* Arrival *he* commanded the Army to clear that part of the Way to the Rock, which was any wise practicable; but when this was done, impassable Rocks and Precipices presented themselves afresh, so that their Labour seem'd to be lost, where Nature it self oppos'd the Undertaking: However, as his Mind was fram'd to struggle with the greatest Difficulties, finding it was impossible to advance, and dangerous to retire back; *he* apply'd his Thoughts to all manner of Contrivances, and *he* no sooner rejected one, but *his* Mind suggested *him* another. As *he* was still labouring to find out an Expedient for his Purpose, Nature supply'd the deficiency of Reason. The Wind was Westward, and blew very fresh, and the Soldiers had cut down a great deal of Wood, thereby to open themselves a Passage thro' the Rocks, and the vehement heat of the Sun had dry'd the Wood. *Alexander* therefore caus'd a great Pile to be made that the Fire might not want Fuel to nourish it; at last so many Trees were heap'd upon one another that they equal'd in highth the top of the Mountain; then *he* order'd this huge Pile to be set on Fire on all sides: The Wind carry'd the Flame into the Enemies Faces, and the Smoke, like a black Cloud, darken'd the very Skies; the Woods rung with the crackling caus'd by the Flames, which were now no longer confin'd to the Soldiers Pile, but communicated themselves to the next growing Trees. The *Barbarians*, to avoid the greatest of Torments, endeavour'd

deavour'd to make their escape thro' any part of the Wood that was not yet on fire; but where the Flame yet granted them a Passage the Enemy was ready to receive them, so that there was a horrible kind of variety in their manner of perishing; some cast themselves into the middle of the Flames, and some flung themselves headlong from the Rocks, while others expos'd themselves to the fury of the Soldiers; a few that were half consum'd with Fire, were taken Prisoners.

From hence *Alexander* return'd to *Craterus*, who was at present besieging *Artacacna*, he had prepar'd every thing for the *King's* Arrival, and waited only for *his* coming, to resign to *him* (as decency requir'd) the Honour of taking the Town. *Alexander* therefore order'd the Towers to be advanc'd to the Walls of the Place, at the sight whereof the *Barbarians* were seiz'd with such a Consternation, that extending their Hands upon the Walls in a suppliant manner, they intreated *him* to turn his Anger upon *Satibarzanes*, the Author of the Defection, and grant them his Pardon, who laid themselves at his Mercy. Hereupon the *King* not only pardon'd them, but rais'd the Siege, and restor'd to the Inhabitants all that belong'd to 'em. Upon *his* leaving this Place, he was met by a fresh supply of Recruits: *Zoilus* brought with him out of *Greece* five hundred Horse, and *Antipater* had sent three thousand more from *Illyrium*; *Philip* had likewise with him one hundred and thirty *Thessalian* Troopers; there came also from *Lydia* two thousand six hundred Foot and three hundred Horse of the same Nation. Being reinforc'd with these Troops he advanc'd into the Countrey of the *Drange*, who are a warlike Nation, and were at this time under the Government of *Barzaentes*, who was concern'd with *Bessus* in the Treason against *Darius*.

This Traitor, to avoid the Punishment due to his Crime, was fled to *India*.

C H A P. VII.

HERE the King had encamp'd during nine Days, and altho' he was a Prince of undaunted Resolution, and had shewn *himself* invincible, yet he had like to have been taken off by domestick Treason.

Dymnus was a Man who had none of the greatest Interest at Court, and entertain'd at this time an unwarrantable Passion for a discarded *Eunuch* call'd *Nichomachus*, being intirely subdu'd thereby, thinking he ingross'd him to himself; coming therefore to the Youth at a certain time like one astonish'd (as might be perceiv'd by his Countenance) he took him privately into a Temple, and told him, *He had Secrets of the greatest Importance to impart to him*; and as the *Eunuch* was very attentive to what he said, *Dymnus* conjur'd him by their mutual Love, and the Pledges they had given each other thereof, to give him the Sanction of a solemn Oath, that he would never reveal what he should impart to him. *Nichomachus* thinking he would communicate nothing to him after so religious a manner that could be Perjury in him to disclose, swore by the Gods there present, that he would not. Upon this assurance *Dymnus* told him, *There was a Conspiracy against the King which would be put in Execution in three Days, and that he himself was concern'd therein, with several other brave Men of the first Rank*. The young Man had no sooner heard this than he let him understand, *He had not given his Faith to conceal so black a Treason, and that no Religion could*

could bind him to Secresie in a Crime of that Nature. Hereupon Dymnus was in a manner distracted between Love and Fear, and taking the Eunuch by the Hand, with Tears in his Eyes, first intreated him to be concern'd in the Enterprize, or if he could not do that, at least that he would not betray him, of whose Affection, among other Instances, he had this strong Proof, that he entrusted him with his Life.

The Youth persisting in an obstinate abhorrence of the Design, *Dymnus threaten'd to kill him, telling him, The Conspirators would begin their glorious Undertaking with his Death; sometimes he call'd him effeminate Coward, and sometimes betrayer of his Friend. Then he try'd to move him by large Promises, even that of a Kingdom, but finding him no way to be prevail'd upon, he drew his Sword and put it sometimes to the Eunuch's Throat, and sometimes to his own, so that at last, what with Threats, and what with Intreaty, he brought him to promise not only to keep the Secret, but also to be concern'd in the Execution thereof: Notwithstanding which, his Mind adher'd firmly to its first Resolution, shewing himself thereby worthy to have been Vertuous and Chaste. However, he feign'd himself so enslav'd by his Love for Dymnus, that he could refuse him nothing, and then desir'd to know, Who were his Partners in this Undertaking, for he said, it was of the greatest Importance with whom he embark'd in a Design of this Nature.*

Dymnus, who was infatuated with his Passion and Crime, return'd him Thanks, and at the same time congratulated him, That being himself a brave Youth, he did not scruple to associate himself with Demetrius, one of the King's Guards, Peucolaus and Nicanor; he added to these Aphæbetus, Loccus, Dioxenus and Amyntas. Nichomachus, af-

ter this (being dismiss'd by him) immediately repair'd to his Brother *Cebalinus*, and imparted to him what he had heard. It was agreed between 'em, *that the Informer should remain in the Tent for fear if he should be seen in the King's Apartment, not being us'd to have admittance there, the Conspirators should conclude they were betray'd.* *Ceballinus* himself waited without the Porch (not being allow'd a nearer access,) expecting the coming in or out of some of those who were familiar with the King, to introduce him to his Majesty. It happen'd that *Philotas*, *Parmenio's* Son, upon some unknown Account, remain'd last with the King; *Cebalinus* therefore (at his coming out) with all the outward marks of Grief and Disturbance, communicated to him what his Brother had told him, and begg'd of him *to acquaint the King therewith as soon as possible.* *Philotas* commending his Fidelity, immediately went back to the King, and having discours'd with him on several other things, did not so much as mention what *Cebalinus* had inform'd him of. At Night as *Philotas* was coming out of the Palace, the young Man who waited for him in the Porch, ask'd him, *Whether he had acquitted himself of his Promise, in reference to what he had intrusted him with.* *Philotas* excus'd himself to him, and told him, that the King was so taken up with other Affairs that he had not had an opportunity to do it. *Cebalinus* therefore attended again the next Day, and as *Philotas* was going to the King, he put him in mind of what he had told him the Day before, and *Philotas* promis'd him afresh to take care of it; however, he did not then neither acquaint the King therewith. *Cebalinus* hereupon began to distrust him, and thinking it to no purpose to trouble him any farther, he address'd himself to *Metron* Master of the King's Armory, and imparted

imparted to him what he had told *Philotas*. *Me- tron* immediately hid *Cebalinus* in the Armory, and repair'd to the King (who was then bathing himself) and *inform'd him of what he had heard*. The King presently sent Guards to seize *Dymnus*, and then came into the Armory, whom as soon as *Cebalinus* saw, transported with Joy he told him, *He was glad he had found a means to save him from the wicked Designs of his Enemies*. *Alexander* having duly inquir'd into the whole matter, ask'd *Cebalinus*, *How long it was since Nichomachus had given him this Information?* To which he answer'd, *That it was now the third Day*. *Alexander* concluding, that he could not conceal it so long without being guilty himself, commanded him to be secur'd; but *Cebalinus* declaring loudly, *That the Moment he heard of it, he had acquainted Philotas therewith, of which his Majesty might be satisfy'd if he ask'd Philotas himself*: The King farther inquir'd, *Whether he had press'd Philotas to impart it to him?* which *Cebalinus* affirming to have done, *Alexander* lifting his Hand to Heaven, with Tears in his Eyes complain'd highly of the *Ingratitude of the Person whom he had honour'd with the first place in his Friendship*.

In the mean time *Dymnus*, who was not ignorant on what Account he was sent for by the King, wounded himself grievously with his Sword, but being hinder'd by the Guards from killing himself outright, they brought him to the Palace, where the King fixing his Eyes upon him, said to him, *What great Mischief have I done to thee, Dymnus, that Philotas should seem to thee worthier of the Kingdom of Macedon than myself?* *Dymnus's* Speech now fail'd him, so that giving a great Groan, and turning his Face from the King, he fell down-dead.

The King afterwards sent for *Philotas*, who being come, he said to him, *That Cebalinus, who would deserve the worst of Punishments if he should have conceal'd two Days together the Knowledge of a Conspiracy against my Life, casts the blame upon Philotas, to whom, he says, he immediately gave an Account thereof: The easie access you have to my Person makes your Guilt the greater, if you wink'd at it; and, I must own, it would have better become Cebalinus than you to have been so negligent in a matter of that Consequence. You have a favourable Judge if you can with Justice deny what you ought not to have committed.* To this *Philotas*, without the least sign of Fear, as far as could be perceiv'd by his Countenance, reply'd, *That it was true Cebalinus had acquainted him with the regardless Information of a sorry Catamite, which the inconsiderableness of the Author made him think not worthy of Credit, since he thought he should by such a discovery only expose himself to the laughter of the more Judicious. However, since Dymnus had killed himself, how groundless soever the Account might be, he own'd it ought not to have been conceal'd; then embracing the King, he begg'd of him to have a greater regard to his past Life, than to a Fault which consisted only in silence, and not in any matter of Fact.* I cannot determine whether the King really credited what he said, or only suppress'd his Anger, but it is certain he gave him his Right Hand as a Pledge of his being reconcil'd to him, and told him, *He look'd upon him rather to have despis'd the Information than conceal'd it.*

C H A P. VIII.

THIS did not however hinder the King from calling a Council of his Friends, to which *Philotas* was not summon'd, and *Nisibomachus* was brought before 'em. Here he related all that he had told the King. *Craterus* was of the Number of those the King had the greatest Esteem for, and on that account, somewhat jealous of *Philotas's* Interest. Moreover, he was not insensible, that *Philotas* had often tir'd the King's Ears with extravagant Exaggerations of his Behaviour and Service, who tho' he did not on that score suspect him to be evilly dispos'd, yet he thought him a little too arrogant. *Craterus* therefore thinking he could not have a more favourable Opportunity to suppress his Rival, covering his Hatred with the specious Appearance of Zeal and Piety, said, *Would to God, Sir, you had deliberated with us at first, concerning this Affair; we had then endeavoured to persuade you (if you were resolv'd to pardon Philotas) to have let him remain'd in Ignorance, how much he was indebted to you, rather than (having brought him in Fear of his Life) force him to make deeper Reflections on his own Danger, than on your Goodness. For he may always have it in his Power to conspire against you, though you may not always be able to pardon him. Do not therefore imagine, that he who dar'd to undertake so foul a Crime, can be alter'd in his Disposition by a Pardon: He knows very well, that they who by unpardonable Faults have exhausted your Mercy, have no room left to hope for it any more. And admitting he may be alter'd by Repentance, or overcome by your Clemency; yet I am sure his Father Parmenio, who has the Command of so great an Ar-*

my, and is in so confirm'd a Credit with the Soldiers; in fine, who in point of Authority with them, is little inferior to your self, will not be very well pleas'd to stand indebted to you for the Life of his Son. There are some Kindnesses which we hate; a Man is always asham'd to confess he has deserv'd Death. He would therefore rather have the World think you have done him an Injury, than given him his Life. From whence I infer, that you will be forc'd to contend with them for your Safety. There are still Enemies enow to encounter with; secure therefore your Person against domestick Treasons: These once remov'd, I fear no foreign Evil. This was Craterus's Sentiment. The rest were also of Opinion, He would never have stifled a Discovery of that Moment, unless he were either principal in the Conspiracy, or an Accomplice: For, said they, who that had the least Spark of Piety, or good Disposition, (though he were not of the Band of your Friends, as he was, but of the Dregs of the People) having heard what he had beed told, would not have presently run to the King, and acquainted him therewith? But he who was Parmenio's Son, General of the Horse, and privy to the King's most secret Affairs, could not so much as imitate Cebalinus's Example, who the Moment he was inform'd by his Brother of the Danger, came and declar'd the same to him; nay, he was so far from detecting the Mischief himself, that he pretended the King was not at leisure, for fear the Informer should address himself to some Body else, and so the Villany might come to light. Nichomachus, notwithstanding his Oath to the Gods, made all the haste he could to discharge his Conscience; but Philotas having pass'd the best part of the Day in Merriment with the King, could not find in his Heart to add to his other long, and perhaps superfluous Discourses, a few Words of the greatest Moment and Importance to the King's Safety.

ry. But admit, say they, that he did not give Credit to the Report, on the account of the Youth of the Informers, What then made him keep 'em in Suspence for two Days, as if he had believ'd it? Certainly he ought to have dismiss'd Cebalinus, if he slighted his Information. Every Man in his own private Peril, may rely upon his Bravery and Courage, but where the King's Safety is in Danger, we ought there to be credulous, and not despise even false Discoveries. They all therefore agreed, he ought to be compell'd to declare his Confederates. The King having commanded them not to divulge the Matter, dismiss'd them. And that he might not give the least Suspicion of his new Measures, he gave publick Notice, that the Army should decamp the next Day. He also invited *Philotas* to his last Supper, and vouchsaf'd not only to eat, but also to converse familiarly with him he had already condemned.

At the second Watch, *Hephestion*, *Craterus*, *Cæ-nus* and *Erigyus*, of the Band of his Friends, and *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus* his Esquires, attended by a few others enter'd the Palace without Lights, and presently gave Orders to the Guards, to be arm'd all the Time they were upon Duty. Soldiers were now planted at all the Avenues, and some Horse were order'd to guard the Roads, that no Body might escape to *Parmenio*, who was then Governor of *Media*, and had the Command of a great Army. *Attarras* at this time enter'd the Palace with three hundred arm'd Men, unto whom were appointed ten of those that had the Guard of the King's Person, who were every one follow'd by ten of those call'd Men at Arms. These were sent to seize the other Conspirators, and *Attarras* going with three hundred Men to take *Philotas*, made choice of fifty of the most resolute amongst 'em, and broke open his Door, having plac'd the rest round

the House, to prevent his making his Escape. But *Philotas* was in a profound Sleep, either from the Consciousness of his Innocency, or from some Fatigue, so that *Attarras* seiz'd him in that Condition. Being now awak'd, as they were putting him in Chains, he cry'd out, *The Bitterness of my Enemies Malice, O King, has overcome thy Goodness.* Having utter'd these Words, they cover'd his Head, and brought him to the *Palace*. The next Day the *King* commanded the *Macedonians* to appear at the *Palace* with their Arms; they amounted to about six thousand Men, besides a Crowd of Rabble and Camp Followers. The Men at Arms conceal'd *Philotas* amongst their Body, that he might not be seen publickly, till the *King* had spoke to the Soldiers; it being an ancient Custom with the *Macedonians*, for the Army to judge of capital Crimes in Time of War, and the People in time of Peace, so that the *King's* Power signifyd nothing unless *he* first perswaded them of his Opinion. *Dymnus* his Body was first brought before 'em, the major part being ignorant what was his Crime, or how he came to be kill'd.

C H A P. IX.

THIS being done, the *King* came out to the Army, carrying in his Countenance all the Tokens of an afflicted Mind, the general Sadness of all his Friends at the same time, gave them no small Expectation of the Event. The *King* remain'd some time with his Eyes fix'd on the Ground, as if he was astonish'd and dismay'd. At last recovering his Spirits, he exprest *himself* thus. *I had like, Soldiers, to have been snatch'd from you by the wicked Contrivance of a few Persons. It is by the Providence*

Providence and Mercy of the Gods, that I am now alive. Your venerable Aspect inflames my Anger still the more, against the execrable Parricides; for the greatest, nay, the only Advantage I propose to my self from Life, is, that I am able to return Thanks to so many gallant Men, who have deserv'd well of me. Here he was interrupted by the Soldiers Lamentations, and every Body's Eyes were now fill'd with Tears. Then continuing his Speech, he said, If what I have already told you, raises such Emotions in you, how much greater shall I excite, when I shew you the Authors of this horrible Design? I tremble at the mentioning of 'em, and as if it were still possible to save 'em, I am unwilling to declare their Names. However, I must overcome my former Friendship for 'em, and let you know who these impious Wretches are: For which way can I conceal so abominable a Crime? Know then, Soldiers, that Parmenio in his advanc'd Age, loaded with my Father's and my Favours, and the most ancient of all my Friends, is the chief Leader in this detestable Enterprize, and Philotas has been his Instrument to corrupt Peucolaus, Demetrius, and Dymnus (whose Body lies there before you) and several others equally mad, to be Partners with him in taking away my Life. At these Words the whole Camp was in an Uproar, complaining with the utmost Indignation, against the detestable Plot, after the manner of Soldiers when they are either mov'd by Affection or Anger. Then Nichomachus, Metron, and Cebalinus were produc'd, and each declar'd to the Army their respective Informations. But not one of them in his Evidence, charg'd Philotas to have any Hand in the Conspiracy; so that the Anger of the Assembly being appeas'd, they remain'd silent after the Informers Declaration. But the King immediately ask'd 'em, What his Design could be, who could suppress an

Information of this Nature ? That it was not ill grounded, appear'd sufficiently from Dymnus's killing himself: And Cebalinus as uncertain as he was of the Truth of the matter, did not refuse, being tortur'd to verify he had receiv'd such an Account from his Brother ; and Metron did not delay one Moment to discharge himself of the Trust repos'd in him, insomuch that he broke into the Place where I was bathing. Philotas was the only Person amongst 'em all that fear'd nothing, nor believ'd any thing. What a Hero is this ! Had he been touch'd with the Danger of his Sovereign, would he have heard it unmov'd, without the least Token of Concern ? Would he not have lent an attentive Ear to an Accusation of that Importance ? The Matter is this, his Crime lay lurking under his Silence, and the greedy Hopes of a Kingdom, drove him headlong on the worst of Villanies. His Father commands in Media, and he himself is in that powerful Station with me, that relying on his Interest with my Officers, he aspired to greater Things than he was capable of. I suppose my having no Issue, made him despise me. But Philotas is mistaken, for you your selves are my Children, Parents, and Relations : While you are safe, I cannot be destitute of either. After this, he read to 'em an intercepted Letter of Parmenio's to his Sons Nicanor and Philotas, which certainly did not contain in exprefs Terms, any criminal Matter : For the Substance of it was this : First take Care of your selves, and then of those under you : By these Means we shall compass our Desires. Here the King took notice, That he writ after this obscure manner, that if it came safe to his Sons, it might be understood by their Accomplices, and in case it was intercepted, it might deceive the ignorant. But it may be objected, that Dymnus in his Discovery of the Conspirators, made no mention of Philotas : Yet this it self, is not so much an Argument

ment of his Innocency, as of his Power; for it shews he was so much fear'd even by those he might have betray'd, that at the same time they confess themselves guilty, they don't so much as dare to name him. However Philotas's Life sufficiently detects him. For when Amyntas my Kinsman, conspir'd against me in Macedonia, he was not only privy to it, but also a Confederate. Moreover, he marry'd his Sister to Attalus, than whom I have not had a greater Enemy: And when I writ to him, out of Familiarity and Friendship, to acquaint him with the Report of the Oracle of Jupiter Hammon, he made no Scruple to return me this Answer, That he rejoic'd I was receiv'd into the Number of the Gods, yet he could not but pity those who were to live under a Prince that exceeded the Condition of Man. These are plain Indications, that his Mind has been long since alienated from me, and that he envied my Glory. Notwithstanding all these Provocations, Soldiers, I have endeavour'd to put a good Construction upon 'em as long as I could. For I thought it was rending some part of my Bowels from me, to discard those I had heap'd so many Favours upon. But the Case is alter'd, it is no longer Words we have to resent: The Temerity of the Tongue has proceeded to the Execution of the Sword, which if you dare believe me, Philotas has been sharpening against me. If he has been guilty of these Things, Whither shall I fly, Soldiers? Whom shall I intrust with my Life? I made him General of my Cavalry, which is the chiefest part of my Army, and plac'd him at the Head of the noblest Youth in Europe: I committed to his Custody my Safety, Hopes, and Victories. Besides all which, I have advanc'd his Father to the same pitch of Grandure almost to which you have rais'd my self: I have made him Governor of Media, than which there is not a richer Countrey, and have intrusted him with the Com-
mand

mand of so many considerable Cities, so many thousands of our Associates: From whence I expected upon Occasion, my chiefest Support, Soldiers, I have found the greatest Danger. How much happier had I been, had I fallen in Battel a Prey to my Enemies, rather than the Victim of a Citizen! But I have escap'd those Dangers which I only fear'd, and have fallen into those I did not in the least suspect. You have frequently exhorted me, Soldiers, to take Care of my Safety: It lies in your Power now to secure it, whatever you advise me to I'll do. It is to your selves, and your Arms, I have recourse for my Protection; I would not be safe against your Wills, and if you desire I should, I cannot be so unless you vindicate my Cause.

Hereupon he order'd *Philotas* to be brought forth, he had his Hands ty'd behind him, and his Head cover'd with an old Veil. It was easily perceivable they were mov'd at so lamentable a Disguise, tho' heretofore they us'd to behold him with Envy. They had seen him the Day before, General of the Horse, they knew he had supp'd with the King, and now on the sudden, they saw him not only accus'd, but condemn'd and bound. They also reflected on the hard Fortune of *Parmenio*, who was not only a great Captain, but an illustrious Citizen, and had not only the Misfortune to lose two of his Sons lately, viz. *Hector* and *Nicanor*, but now stood accus'd in his Absence, with the only Son he had left.

Amyntas therefore perceiving the Multitude inclin'd to Pity, endeavour'd to exasperate 'em again, telling them, *They were all betray'd to the Barbarians; that none of 'em would return to their Wives, their Countrey, or their Friends: That they should be like the Body without a Head, without Life or Name, a mere Sport in a strange Countrey, to their Enemies.* This Speech was not so acceptable to the King,

King, as *Amyntas* expected; because, by putting them in Mind of their Wives and Countrey, it cool'd their Courage to after Expeditions. Then *Cenus*, notwithstanding he had marry'd *Philotas's* Sister, inveigh'd against him more than any Body, and declar'd him to be *the Parricide of his King, Countrey, and of the whole Army*, and taking up a Stone that lay at his Feet, was going to fling it at his Head, desiring thereby as some thought, to secure him from future Torments; but the King laying hold of his Hand, hinder'd him, telling him, *he ought to have the Liberty to plead, without which he would not suffer him to be judg'd.* *Philotas* being accordingly order'd to speak for himself, was so stupify'd, either from the Guilt of his Conscience, or the Greatness of the Danger he was in, that he could neither lift up his Eyes, nor so much as utter the least Syllable, but burst out into Tears, and fainting away, fell into the Arms of him that held him. Afterwards having recover'd his Spirits and Speech, he wip'd away his Tears, and seem'd to prepare himself to speak. Then the King turning to him, said, *The Macedonians are to be your Judges: I desire to know, whether you design to speak to 'em in your Countrey Language or not.* To which *Philotas* reply'd, *There are a great many others here besides the Macedonians, who I believe will understand me better, if I use the same Tongue you your self spoke in, for no other Reason, as I suppose, than that you might be understood by the greater Number.* The King then bid 'em take notice, *how he even hated his Countrey's Tongue, which no Body disdain'd but himself.* But let him use what Language he pleases, so you do but remember that he equally abhors our Manners and our Speech. Which said, he withdrew.

C H A P. X.

THEN Philotas began. *It is an easie matter for the Innocent to find Words, but it is very hard for a Man in Distress to be moderate therein. So that between the Innocence of my Conscience, and the Severity of my Fortune, I am at a stand how to suit my Discourse both to my Mind and Circumstances. He that is my properest and best Judge, has withdrawn himself; why he would not hear what I had to say, I cannot imagine, since after he had heard both Parties, he had it still in his Power as well to condemn as absolve me; whereas if he does not hear what I say in my Defence, I cannot hope to be discharg'd by him in his Absence, who condemn'd me while present. But notwithstanding the Defence of a Man in Chains, is not only superfluous, but also odious, since it does not so much inform as seem to reprove his Judge. Yet in what manner soever I am oblig'd to speak, I shall not desert my own Cause, neither shall I give any Body leave to say, that I condemn'd my self. What my Crime is I cannot tell, not one of the Conspirators so much as names me: Nichomachus has given no Information against me, and Cebalinus could not know more than he had been told. All which, notwithstanding the King believes me to be the Contriver and chief Manager of the Conspiracy. Is it likely Dymnus would pass over him, whose Directions he follow'd? More especially when being ask'd, who the Confederates were, I ought (tho' falsely) to have been nam'd, for the greater Encouragement of him who seem'd to be afraid. For having discover'd the Plot, it cannot be thought he omitted my Name, that he might spare an Accomplice: For when he confess'd*
the

the matter to Nichomachus, who he thought would not divulge Secrets relating to himself, he nam'd all the rest without making the least Mention of me. Pray, Brother Soldiers, if Cebalinus had not address'd himself to me, and had had no Mind I should know any thing of the Matter, should I to Day be making my Defence, without having been so much as nam'd by any of the Informers? It is a very likely matter, that he that does not conceal himself, should spare me! Calamity is spiteful, and most commonly he that suffers for his own Guilt, is well enough pleas'd that others should share the same Fate. Shall so many guilty Persons, when put upon the Rack, refuse to tell the Truth? It is observ'd, that no Body spares him that is to die, and for my part, I believe he that is to die, spares no Body. I must therefore come to my true Crime, and the only thing I can be charg'd with. Why did you then conceal the Treason? Why did you hear it without any Concern? Of what Force soever this may be, you pardon'd it, Alexander, upon my Confession, wherever you are, and having given me your Right-hand as a Pledge of your Reconciliation, I was one of them that supp'd with you that Night. If you believ'd what I said, I am clear'd; if you pardon'd me, I am discharg'd. Stand at least to your own Judgment. What Crime have I committed since last Night that I left your Table? What new Crime have you been inform'd of to make you alter your Mind? I was in a profound Sleep, not dreaming of my Misfortunes, when my Enemies by their binding of me, wak'd me. How came it to pass, pray, that a Parricide and a Traitor, slept so quietly? For a guilty Conscience will not suffer its wicked Owners to be at rest. The Furies distract their Minds, not only while they are contriving the Parricide, but even after they have put it in Execution. My Security was ground'd, first upon my Innocency, and next on your Right-hand.

hand. I was not afraid other Peoples Cruelty should have more Power with you than your own Clemency. However, that you may have no Reason to repent you believ'd me, do but reflect that the Information was brought to me by a Youth, who could bring no Witness, nor Security of the Truth of what he said, and yet would have fill'd the Palace with Apprehensions had he been heard. Unhappy Man that I am! I thought my Ears had been impos'd upon by a trifling Quarrel between the Lover and his Catamite; and I distrusted the Truth of the Information, because he did not give it in himself, but sent it by his Brother. Besides, I could not tell but he might disown having sent Cebalinus on any such Account, and then I should have been suspected to have contriv'd it on purpose to bring several of the King's Friends into Trouble. Thus although I have offended no Body, I have found Enemies that wish my Ruine, rather than my Safety. How much ill Will should I have procur'd my self, had I provok'd so many innocent Persons? But Dymnus kill'd himself; it is true, however I could not divine that he would do so. From hence 'tis plain, that the only thing that gives Credit to the Information, was what I could not any way be mov'd with, when Cebalinus communicated it to me. Again, had I been concern'd with Dymnus in the abominable Treason, I ought not to have dissembl'd the Matter for two Days, when I knew we were betray'd. It had been the easiest thing in the World to have dispatch'd Cebalinus out of the way. Besides, after the Discovery of the Plot, I enter'd into the King's Chamber alone, and with my Sword by my side, What then 'could be my Motive, not to put it in Execution? Did not I dare to go about it without Dymnus? At this rate, he must be the chief Conspirator, and Philotas, who aspir'd to the Kingdom of Macedonia, depended on him. Now pray tell me your
selves,

selfes, which of you have I endeavour'd to bring over to my Interest? What Leader or Commander have I chiefly courted? It has been objected to me, that I despis'd my native Language, and the Manners of the Macedonians. This I cannot but own would have been a ready way to have obtain'd the Crown I am said to have thirsted after: You are all sensible, that our own Language is almost out of use, by the long Conversation we have had with Foreigners, and the Conquerors, as well as the Vanquish'd, have been oblig'd to learn a new Expression. These Charges do not affect me any more than Amyntas's treasonable Practices against the King, with whom I do not disown to have had a Friendship, but I cannot think my self guilty on that Account, unless it be a Crime for us to love the King's Brother: But if, on the contrary, we were oblig'd to respect a Man in that high Station, pray tell me how I am guilty, since I could not divine it was flagitious? Must the innocent Friends of the guilty be involv'd in their Ruin? If that be reasonable, why have I liv'd so long? If it be unreasonable, why must I now at last suffer for it? Oh! but I writ in my Letter, that I pity'd those who were to live under him, who believ'd himself Jupiter's Son. It is true, and you your selves forc'd me not to conceal my Thoughts. I do not deny that I writ thus to the King, but I did not write so to any Body else of the King; I therefore did not seek to create him ill Will, but on the contrary, I had a tender Care for him. I thought it was more worthy Alexander to be satisfy'd with-in himself of his divine Extraction, than to boast of it publickly: And because the Oracle is infallible, I'll willingly rely on the Testimony of the God. Let me be a Prisoner till Hammon is consult'd about the secret and mysterious Crime. Certainly he that has acknowledg'd our King for his Son, will
not

not suffer any that have conspir'd against his Offspring to remain undetected ; but if you look upon Torments to be more certain in this Case than the Oracle, I do not even refuse that Testimony of my Innocency. It is usual for those who are accus'd of capital Crimes to exhibit their Parents or next Relations as Pledges for them, but I have lost my two Brothers lately, and I cannot at this distance produce my Father, neither dare I name him, since he is equally accus'd with me ; for it seems it is not enough for him to be depriv'd of so many Children as he had, and to have but one left to comfort him in his old Age, unless that be also taken from him, and he himself perish with him in the same Pile. Must you then, my dear Father, not only dye for me, but also with me ? I am the unhappy Wretch that take away your Life, and put a period to your old Age ! Why did you beget me in the displeasure of the Gods ? I cannot determine whether my Youth be more miserable, or your gray Hairs : I am snatch'd away in the bloom of my Years, and the Executioner must put an end to your Days, whom the Course of Nature would have taken out of the way, had Fortune had but a little patience. The mention I make of my Father puts me in mind how cautious I ought to have been in communicating Cebalinus's Information ; for Parmenio being advis'd that Philip was brib'd to poison the King, writ a Letter on purpose to dissuade him from taking the Medicine he prepar'd for him ; was there any Credit given to my Father in this Case ? Had his Letters any Authority with the King ? Nay, how many times have I my self been ridicul'd for my Credulity, when I have imparted what I heard ? Now if we must be odious when we inform, and suspected when we conceal, because we don't give credit to the discovery, what must we do ? Here one of the standers by cry'd out by the way of answer

answer, *Not Plot against those who have deserv'd well of us.* To which *Philotas* reply'd, *Thou say'st well, whoever thou art.* If it therefore appears that *I have conspir'd*, I don't refuse to suffer, and so shall conclude my defence, since I find my last Words disagreeable to you. This said, they who had him in Custody took him away.

C H A P. XI.

THere was amongst the Captains one named *Belon*, a very brave but unpolish'd Man ; he had been a long time in Arms, and from a private Centinel, had rais'd himself to the Post he was then in. This brutishly audacious Officer perceiving the Assembly stood mute, represented to it, *That they had frequently been thrust out of their Quarters to make room for the very scum of Philotas's Servants ; that the Streets were full of his Waggon's laden with Gold and Silver , and that he would not so much as suffer any of his fellow Soldiers to be lodg'd near his Quarters, but kept them at a distance for fear of being disturb'd in his Rest, not allowing them even to whisper, much less make any noise ; that they had been always the subject of his ridicule, and were sometimes call'd by him Phrygians, sometimes Paphlagonians ; and that he was so haughty as to hear his own Countrey-men by an Interpreter.* What can be his Reason to have *Hammon* consulted, he that did not scruple to tax the Oracle with Lying, when it acknowledg'd *Alexander* for Jupiter's Son ; for he had great Reason to fear the King should contract ill Will by what the Gods themselves bestow'd upon him. He did not consult the Oracle when he conspir'd against the Life of his Sovereign and Friend, but he would now
have

have it consulted, that in the mean time his Father, who commands in Media, might be solicited, and with the Money he has in his Custody procure other Desperadoes to associate themselves with him in his Villany. That it was their Business to send to the Oracle, not to be inform'd of what the King had told them himself, but to give Thanks to the Gods, and offer up their Vows for their Sovereign's Preservation.

This incens'd the whole Assembly, and the Guards cry'd out, that it belong'd to them to take Satisfaction of the Parricide, and that they ought to tear him in pieces. *Philotas*, who was afraid of greater Torments, was well enough pleas'd with this saying. The King returning now to the Assembly, adjourn'd the Council to the next Day, either that *Philotas* might be tormented in Prison, or that he might in the mean time get better Information of the Conspiracy; and notwithstanding the Night drew on, he summon'd his Friends to come to him, the rest of 'em were for having *Philotas* ston'd to Death, according to the Macedonian Custom, but *Hephestion*, *Craterus* and *Cænus* were of opinion, *That the Truth ought to be forc'd from him by Tortures*; and then those who had been of another Sentiment came over to their Advice. The Council being therefore dismiss'd, *Hephestion*, *Craterus* and *Cænus* got up in order to have *Philotas* tortur'd, and the King calling *Craterus*, had some private Discourse with him, the Substance whereof was never known, and then retir'd into his Closet, and there remain'd alone a considerable part of the Night, expecting the Event of the Tortures. The Executioners brought now before *Philotas* all the Instruments of Cruelty, and he of his own accord ask'd 'em, *Why they delay'd killing the King's Enemy and Murderer, who confess'd the Fact? What occasion is there*

there for Torments? I own I contriv'd the Mischief and would have executed it. Then Craterus requir'd he should make the same Confession upon the Rack. While they laid hold of him, and were stripping him and binding his Eyes, he to no purpose call'd upon the Gods of the Countrey, and the Laws of Nations. They made him pass thro' the severest Torments, as if he had been actually condemn'd, and out of their Zeal for the King's safety, most miserably tore his Body. And notwithstanding they made use both of Fire and Scourges, rather by the way of Punishment than Examination, he was so far from crying out, that he did not so much as yield a Groan; but when his Body swell'd with Ulcers, and the Scourges cut to the Bones, not being any longer able to contain himself, he promis'd them if they would leave off tormenting him, he would discover to them what they desir'd to know: But he requir'd they should swear by the King's safety, that they would torture him no more, and that the Executioners should be sent away, both which being granted him, he ask'd Craterus, What he would have him tell him? Craterus was very much incens'd hereat, thinking he mock'd him, and call'd back the Executioners. Then Philotas desir'd a little time to recover his Spirits, and promis'd to tell 'em all that he knew. In the mean time the chief Officers of the Cavalry, and they who were nearly related to Parmenio (hearing that Philotas was put upon the Rack, and dreading the Macedonian Laws, which ordain, that the near Relations of those that conspire against the King, shall dye with them) some kill'd themselves, and others fled to the Mountains and Desarts; the whole Camp was in a Consternation, which the King being inform'd of, he caus'd Proclamation to be made, That he remitted the Law relating to the kindred of Traytors. Philotas

lotas in the mean time made the following Confession, that he might not be any more torment-ed, but whether what he said was true or false is hard to determine.

You are not ignorant, said he, how familiar my Father was with Hegelochus, I mean that Hege-lochus that was kill'd in Battel ; he was the cause of all our Misfortunes, for when the King order'd himself to be saluted Jupiter's Son, this Man took it so heinously, that he said, Shall we acknowledge him for King, who is asham'd to own Philip for his Fa-ther ? We are undone if we suffer this, for he not only despises Men but the Gods themselves, who de-sires to be thought a God. We have lost Alexander, we have lost our King ; he is fallen into that insuf-ferable Pride that makes him odious, both to the Gods, to whom he equals himself, and to Mankind that he despises. Have we spilt our Blood to make him a God, who now disdains us ? Believe me, if we will but shew our selves Men, we may be also adopted by the Gods. Who reveng'd the Death of Alexander, great Grandfather of our Alexander, or that of Archelaus, or Perdiccas ? Nay, has not he himself pardon'd those that kill'd Philip ? This is what Hegelochus said at Supper, and the next Day, early in the Morning, my Father sent for me ; he was melancholy, and saw that I was also sad, for what we had heard made us very uneasie ; that therefore we might know whether what he said was the effect of Wine or Premeditation, we sent for him, and being come, he of his own Motion repeated what he had said before, and added, that if we dar'd to be Leaders in the Enterprize, he claim'd the next Place to us ; if we did not approve of it, he would faithfully keep our Counsel. Parmenio did not think it proper, while Darius was alive, since the Ene-miy would reap the Advantage of Alexander's Death, and not we ; but Darius being dead, Asia and all

the East would fall as a Reward to those that should kill the King. The Advice was approv'd, and Faith mutually promis'd between the Parties. As for what relates to Dymnus, I know nothing of it; and after this Confession, what will it avail me that I am altogether innocent of this last Plot? Then they tormented him afresh, and struck him themselves in the Face and Eyes with their Darts, and at last extorted from him a Confession of that Crime likewise. As they requir'd him to give an orderly Account of the whole Contrivance: He answer'd, *That as it seem'd probable that the King would remain a considerable time in Bactriana, he was afraid his Father, who was seventy Years of Age, and at the head of a great Army, and had the Custody of a vast Treasure, might dye in the mean time, and then being deprived of such Supports it would be to no purpose for him to kill the King; he therefore design'd to hasten the Execution while the reward of it was still in his own Hands.* This he said was the whole History of the Matter, *and if they did not believe his Father to be the Author of it, he was ready to undergo the Tortures again, tho' he was too weak to bear 'em.* Hereupon they conferr'd together, and having concluded they had made sufficient enquiry, they return'd to the King.

The next Day the King order'd his Confession to be read to the Assembly, and because *Philotas* was not able to go, he caus'd him to be brought before it: Here he again own'd it all to be true. They proceeded next to the Examination of *Demetrius*, who was accus'd to be one of the Confederates in the last Conspiracy; but he made great Protestations, and with an undaunted Mind and Countenance deny'd *that he had ever intended any thing against the King, and for his greater Justification he desir'd to be tortur'd.* Then *Philotas* cast-

ing his Eyes about, spy'd a certain Person nam'd *Calis*, not far from him, and bid him come nearer. But *Calis* in the utmost Confusion refus'd to do it; so that *Philotas* said to him, *Will you suffer Demetrius to lie, and cause me to be tortur'd again?* At these Words *Calis* became speechless, and turn'd as pale as if he had no Blood left in his Body. The *Macedonians* now began to suspect *Philotas* maliciously accus'd those that were innocent; because neither *Nichomachus*, nor *Philotas* in his Tortures, had nam'd the Youth. However, when he found himself surrounded by the King's Officers, he confess'd that both *he* and *Demetrius* were guilty. Hereupon all those who were nam'd by *Nichomachus*, were according to the *Macedonian* Laws (upon a Signal given) ston'd to Death.

It is certain the King here run a great Risk, both as to his Safety and his Life; for *Parmenio* and *Philotas* were so powerful and so well belov'd, that unless it appear'd plain they were guilty, they could never have been condemn'd, without the Indignation of the whole Army. For while *Philotas* deny'd the Fact, he was look'd upon to be very cruelly handled; but after his Confession, there was not any of his Friends that pity'd him.

The End of the first Volume.



Quintus Curtius

H I S

HISTORY

O F T H E

Wars of Alexander.

V O L. II.

Translated by *John Digby, Esq;*

L O N D O N:

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AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.



AS the Soldiers thought *Philotas* duly punish'd while his Crime was fresh in their Memory, so after the Object of their Hatred was remov'd, their Malice turn'd to Pity. They were now touch'd with the Rank and Dignity of the Youth, as well as with his Father's Old Age and Desolation, in being destitute of Issue. He had open'd the *King* a Passage into *Asia*, and had shar'd in all his Dangers; moreover he always us'd to command one of the Wings of the Army in a general Engagement. He had been *Philip's* chiefest Favourite, and had shewn himself so faithful to *Alexander*, that he made use of no other Person in the taking off of *Attalus*. These Thoughts came into the Minds of the Army, and their seditious Expressions were brought to the *King*, who was not in the least mov'd thereat, as knowing very well that the Vices of Idleness were easily cur'd by Action. He therefore gave Orders for a general

neral Appearance before *his* Palace. Here *Apharias* (no doubt as it had been before concerted) desir'd that *Lyncestes Alexander* (who stood accus'd of having had a Design to kill the King, a considerable time before *Philotas*) might be brought to Judgment. Two Persons had inform'd against him, and it was now the third Year of his Imprisonment on that Account. It was also certain he had conspir'd with *Pausanias*, against *Philip*; but he having been the first that saluted *Alexander* King, his Punishment had rather been suspended than he clear'd. Besides, the King had had some Defence to the Intercession of *Antipater*, his Father-in-law. But now the Resentment that had lain dormant, was reviv'd, and the Solitude for the present Danger, had renew'd the Memory of the past. *Alexander* was therefore brought forth, and commanded to make his Defence, which he had been three Years preparing; but being in the utmost Confusion, he with Difficulty pronounc'd some part of what he had so long meditated, till at last both his Memory and Mind fail'd him. All were of Opinion, that this Disorder proceeded from his guilty Conscience, and not from any Defect of Memory; whereupon some of those that stood next him, run him through as he was still labouring with his Forgetfulness. His Body being carry'd off, the King commanded *Amyntas* and *Simmias* to be likewise brought forth; for *Polemon* the youngest of the Brothers, was fled, upon *Philotas's* being put to the Torture. These had been *Philotas's* most intimate Friends, having by his Interest been advanc'd to honourable Employments; and the King now call'd to mind how zealous *Philotas* had been in promoting them, and therefore did not doubt, *but they were also privy to this last Plot*. So that he told the Assembly, *that his Mother had long since warn'd him by Letters, to*
have

have a special Care of 'em. But as he was not in his Nature prone to put the worst Construction upon things, he had suspended his Jealousie till now that he was convinc'd by Overt-Acts; upon which he had order'd them to be bound. For it was certain they had had private Conferences with Philotas the Day before his Treason was discover'd. That his Brother's making his Escape when Philotas was tortur'd, was a sufficient Detection of the Cause of his Flight. Moreover, they had lately (contrary to Custom, under the Pretext of Officiousness) remov'd the rest at a greater Distance, and plac'd themselves near his Person, without any probable Ground for such Proceeding: So that being surpriz'd at this their Behaviour (especially out of their Time of Waiting) and alarm'd at their unusual Diligence, he had thought fit to retire to his Guards. To all which may be added, that when Antiphanes, Agent of the Horse, requir'd Amyntas (the Day before Philotas's Plot came to light) to supply with some of his Horses (as is usual) such as had lost theirs, he made him this haughty Answer: That if he did not desist from his Demands, he should in a little time know who he had to deal with. Besides the Intemperance of their Tongues, and the rash undecent Expressions they us'd concerning him, were so many plain Indications of their inveterate Malice against him; all which Charges, if true, they deserve the same Punishment that Philotas had. If they are not true, he required they should clear themselves.

The King having finish'd his Speech, Antiphanes gave an Account of Amyntas's refusing of the Horses, and of his haughty menacing Answer. After which, Amyntas being allow'd to speak for himself, said, If the King be not prejudic'd thereby, I desire, that while I plead, I may be unbound: Which the King immediately granted to them both; and Amyntas begging also that he might also be allow'd the

usual Marks of his Office, the King order'd his Pike to be restor'd him. Then having taken the same in his Left-hand, and removing to some Distance from the Place where Alexander's Body had lain a little before, he spoke to this effect: Be our Lot what it will, Sir, we must now confess, that if it be prosperous, we stand indebted to your Bounty for it; if it be fatal, we shall impute it wholly to Fortune. You allow us to make our Defence without the least Prejudice; our Bodies are at Liberty, as well as our Minds: You have moreover restor'd to us, the Tokens we us'd to bear when we attended you in our respective Posts. We cannot fear our Cause, nor shall we any longer distrust Fortune. But I beg your leave to answer first, what you objected last. We are not, Sir, conscious to our selves, of having said any thing against your Majesty. I would say, that you have long ago overcome all Envy and Ill-will, if I did not apprehend you would suspect I endeavoured by Flattery, to excuse other malicious Expressions. However, if it has happen'd that we have let slip any unbecoming Words, when we have been either faint or fatigu'd; while we were hazarding our Lives, or sick in our Tents, and dressing our Wounds, I hope we may be allow'd to have deserv'd by our Bravery and gallant Behaviour, that these Sayings should be imputed to that particular Circumstance of Time, rather than to any Disaffection in our Minds. In great Misfortunes all are guilty. For we sometimes lay violent Hands upon our selves, tho' we cannot be said to hate our Bodies. In these dismal Conjunctions, the very Sight of our own Parents are not only ungrateful, but odious to us. Again, when we are prosperous, and are nobly rewarded for our Service; or when we return laden with Spoils, Who can bear us? Who can in that Circumstance moderate his Joy? A Soldier's Anger or Alacrity, never keeps within due Bounds, they are always excessive.

We

We are transported in all our Affections. We blame, praise, pity, or are angry, according as the present Object moves us. Sometimes we are for going to India and the Ocean; and sometimes again, the Thought of our Wives, our Children, and Countrey fills our Mind. But these Reflections, these Discourses are all at an End, whenever the Signal is given to march: Then every one runs to his Post, and whatever Anger was conceiv'd in our Tents, is all discharg'd upon the Enemy. Would to God Philotas had only offended in Words. Now I must come to that for which we are look'd upon as guilty, viz. Our Friendship with Philotas; and I am so far from disowning it, that I freely confess, we sought and cultivated it. Can you wonder, Sir, that we should endeavour to insinuate our selves into the Favour of the Son of Parmenio, to whom you have given the next Rank to your self, preferring him to all the rest of your Friends? If your Majesty will hear the Truth, it is your self, Sir, that have brought us into this Præmunire; For who else was the Cause that all those who endeavoured to please you, courted Philotas's Friendship? It was he that presented us to you, and procur'd us our present Interest with you. In a Word, he was so much in your Favour, that we had both Reason to seek his Friendship and fear his Displeasure. Have we not all oblig'd our selves by Oath to esteem the Persons our Friends and Enemies, that you declar'd to be yours in either Capacity? Being bound by this Oath, could we in Conscience hate him you shew'd the greatest kindness to? If loving him while we saw you lov'd him were a Crime, in reality your Majesty has but few Subjects that are not guilty, nay, I dare be bold to say, none at all; for there is no Body but would have been glad of Philotas's Friendship, tho' every Body could not obtain it. If therefore all that were his Friends are guilty, your Majesty must think them

so too who would have been his Friends ; but what Indication is there that we were conscious of his Treason ? This I suppose, that we were privately with him the Day before ; this would undeniably hold good, and be beyond Purgation, if I did that Day any thing I had not us'd to do. Now if we did no more that Day which is suspected, than what we were us'd to do every Day, the very Custom will clear us of any Guilt. Oh ! but we refus'd Horses to Antiphanes ! and this Contest with him happen'd the Day before Philotas was discovered ; if that be a sufficient Ground to be suspected that we did not that Day deliver 'em, he cannot clear himself neither for having requir'd them. The Crime is doubtful between the Exactor and the Retainer, only with this difference, that the cause of him that keeps his own, is better than his that requires another Body's. However, Sir, out of ten Horses which I had, Antiphanes had already distributed eight to such as had lost theirs, so that I had but two left me for my own Use, which when he very haughtily and unjustly would have taken away also, I was oblig'd to refuse them, unless I would serve on Foot my self. I cannot deny but I spoke to him as became a Man of Spirit to speak to a sorry Fellow, who is no otherwise employ'd in the Army than to distribute other People's Horses to those who are to fight. I cannot but think my self very unhappy that at the same time I excuse my self to Alexander, I seem also to do it to Antiphanes. But here is another thing, your Mother in her Letters caution'd you to have an Eye upon us, as being your Enemies. I could wish she had been more wisely solicitous for her Son's Safety, than to fill his Head with vain and groundless Suspicions. Why does she not at the same time assign the cause of her Fear ? She neither tells her Author, nor alledges any Act or Saying, by which she was mov'd to write such
frightful

frightful Letters. What an unhappy Circumstance am I in, to whom perhaps it is equally dangerous to speak or to hold my Tongue; but be it as it will, I had rather my Defence should displease you than my Cause. You may, if you please remember, that when you sent me to Macedonia to raise Recruits, you told me there were a great many young Men hid in your Mother's House; and you gave me particular Instructions to have no regard for any Body besides your self, but to bring by force those that would not serve voluntarily. I executed your Orders accordingly, and indeed more punctually than was expedient to my own Interest; for I brought you from thence Gorgias, Hecateus and Gorgatas, who do you very good Service. Now what can be more unjust than for me (who should have deservedly suffer'd if I had not obey'd your Commands) to perish now for having duly put the same in Execution? For your Mother had no other cause to persecute us than that we prefer'd your Good to her Favour. I brought you six thousand Macedonian Foot, and six hundred Horse, a great many of which would not have come if I had not compell'd them. Now as your Mother is incens'd against us on this Account, it seems unreasonable you should reconcile us to her, who have been the cause of our having incurr'd her Displeasure.

C H A P. II.

WHile Amyntas was thus pleading his Cause, they who had been sent in pursuit of *Polemon* (whom we before mention'd) having overtaken him, brought him bound before the Assembly. The Assembly were so incens'd against him, that they could scarce be restrain'd from their

usual Custom of stoning him to Death without hearing his Defence, when he, not at all dejected, told 'em, *He did not desire the least Favour to himself, provided his Flight were not interpreted to his Brother's prejudice. If I cannot clear my self, at least let my Crime be Personal, for their Cause is by so much the better, that I am suspected only for having fled.*

The whole Assembly was pleas'd with what he said, and fell a weeping, so suddenly were they chang'd; and what before had chiefly provok'd their Anger, was the only thing that now reconcil'd them to him. He was a Youth in the flower of his Age, and had been terrify'd by the Disturbance he observ'd in others, when *Philotas* was tormented, and so fled along with them; but finding himself forsaken by his Companions, he was deliberating whether he should pursue his Flight, or return to the Camp, when they who had been sent after him overtook him; he now wept bitterly, and beat himself about the Face, not much concern'd on his own Account, but overwhelm'd with Grief at the Danger he saw his Brothers in. The King himself was mov'd with his Behaviour, as well as the Assembly; his Brother was the only Person that seem'd implacable, who looking at him with a furious Countenance said, *Fool as thou art, thou shouldst then have wept when thou clapp'dst Spurs to thy Horse, thou deserter of thy Brothers, and Companion of Deserters, thou miserable Wretch, whither, and from whence didst thou fly. Thou art the cause that I am thought deserving of Death, and that I am now forc'd to use these Terms of Accusation.* To this he reply'd, *That he own'd he was very much to blame, and deserv'd worse for the trouble he had brought his Brothers into, than for any thing he had done himself.* At these Words the whole Assembly could no longer command their Tears, and
Accla-

Acclamations, the usual tokens by which the Multitude declares its Favour. It seem'd to be but one Voice issu'd forth by an universal Consent, intreating the King to *pardon these innocent and brave Men*. The chief of his Friends also laid hold of this Opportunity, and implor'd his Mercy. Then *Alexander* having commanded silence said, *And I my self discharge Amyntas and his Brothers; and as for you, young Gentlemen* (addressing himself to the Prisoners) *I had rather you should forget the Favour you now receive from me, than remember the Danger you were in. Be as sincere in your Reconciliation to me as I am in mine to you. If I had not examin'd into the Information, my Disimulation might have been distrusted, and it is better for your selves that you have prov'd your Innocency, than to remain suspected. Reflect that no Body can be clear'd of any Crime till he be try'd. As for you, Amyntas, forgive your Brother, and I shall accept of that as a Pledge of your sincere Reconciliation to my self.* Then having dismiss'd the Assembly, he sent for *Polydamas*, who was a particular Friend of *Parmenio's*, and us'd to be next to him in time of Battel; and notwithstanding he immediately came, relying on his Innocence, yet being commanded to fetch his Brothers, who were very young, and on that account unknown to the King, his Assurance turn'd into a deep Concern, and he began rather to reflect on what could be laid to his Charge, than how to confute the same. The Guards who had them in Custody, now brought 'em forth, and the King commanded *Polydamas* (who was almost dead with Fear) to come nearer him, and having order'd the rest of the Company to withdraw, he spoke to him in these Terms, *We are all attack'd by Parmenio's Crime, but especially my self and you, whom he has deceiv'd under the colour of Friend-*

ship. Now I design to make use of you to punish his *Perfidiousness*, see what a Confidence I have in your Fidelity. Your Brothers shall remain with me as Hostages till you have acquitted your self of this Trust; you shall go therefore into Media, and carry these Letters, writ with my own Hand, to my Governors there. You must be so expeditious as to prevent even Fame. I would have you arrive there in the Night, and the next Day you shall deliver the Letters I charge you with. You shall also carry Letters to *Parmenio*, one from my self, and another from *Philotas*, whose Seal I have by me; by this means the Father seeing a Letter from his Son, will have no manner of Apprehension.

Polydamas being thus deliver'd from his Fears, promis'd more than was requir'd of him. *Alexander* having hereupon very much commended him, and made him large Promises, *Polydamas* pull'd off the Dress he had on, and cloth'd himself after the *Arabian* manner, and had two *Arabians* (whose Wives and Children remain'd with the King as Pledges for their Fidelity) appointed him for Companions in his Journey. As they rid upon Camels they pass'd through the dry barren Countreys commodiously enough, and came on the eleventh Day to their Journeys end. Here *Polydamas* re-assum'd the *Macedonian* Habit, and before any Body knew of his Arrival, he repair'd to *Cleander's* Tent (who was the King's Prætor in this Province) about the fourth Watch; and having deliver'd his Letters, it was agreed between 'em to go as soon as it was light to *Parmenio's* Quarters, where the rest of those to whom the King had writ were to meet them. By this time *Parmenio* was acquainted with the Arrival of *Polydamas*, and being overjoy'd at the coming of his Friend, and eager to know what the King was doing (for by reason of the great distance he had
receiv'd

receiv'd no Letters from him of a considerable time) he sent to inquire after *Polydamas*. The Inns in this Countrey have large Recesses backwards, which are well planted with Trees that render 'em very pleasant. This kind of Groves is what the *Kings* and Nobility take great delight in. *Parmenio* walk'd therefore into the Wood in the middle of those Officers who had receiv'd Orders from the *King* to kill him. The time fix'd upon to execute their Design, was when he should be reading the Letters *Polydamas* was to deliver to him. *Polydamas*, at a great distance, no sooner perceiv'd by *Parmenio*'s cheerful Countenance that he saw him, than he ran to embrace him; and after their mutual Caresses, *Polydamas* deliver'd him the *King*'s Letters. While he was opening it, he ask'd *Polydamas*, *what the King was doing?* who told him, *his Letter would inform him.* *Parmenio* therefore having read the Letter, said, *the King is preparing to march against the Arachosians: He is a Prince indefatigably laborious, and never idle! But I should think it were high time for him now to spare his Person, having acquir'd so much Glory.* Then he took the other Letter writ in *Philotas*'s Name, and seem'd by his Countenance to be pleased with the Contents of it; while he was thus employ'd, *Cleander* stabb'd him in the Side, and afterwards stuck him in the Throat, the rest running him through as he lay dead on the Ground. The Guards, who stood at the entrance into the Wood, understanding he was murder'd, without knowing for what Reason, repair'd to the Camp, and with the surprizing Tydings put it all in a Confusion. Hereupon the Soldiers arm'd themselves, and ran to the Wood where their General's Body lay, and threaten to break down the Walls of the Place, and sacrifice all they found in it, to the Manes of their Commander, if *Polydamas* and the

*rest concern'd in his Murder, were not immediately deliver'd up to them. Cleander therefore order'd the chief Officers to be admitted, and read to them the King's Letters, that contain'd Parmenio's Treason, and Alexander's Request to them to vindicate his Cause. Thus being satisfy'd that it was done by the King's Directions, the Sedition was quieted, tho' their Indignation was not appeas'd. The greatest part of the Soldiers being gone, the few that remain'd begg'd, That they might at least be allow'd to bury his Corps, which was a long time refus'd, Cleander fearing he should by that Allowance incur the King's Displeasure. But as they persisted obstinately in their Demand, to avoid the ill Consequences that might ensue, he caus'd the Head to be cut off, and allow'd 'em to bury his Body: The Head he sent to the King. Such was Parmenio's end, a Man of an establish'd Reputation, both at home and in the Army; he had done several great Exploits without the King, but the King had done nothing of Moment without him; He had been able to satisfy the Expectation of a prosperous Prince, who requir'd Performances answerable to his own extraordinary Fortune; he was seventy Years of Age when he was kill'd, and would often (notwithstanding the Burthen of his Years) do the part of a young General, and sometimes that of a private Soldier. He was wise in Council, brave in Action, belov'd by the chief Officers, but still more dear to the common Soldiers. Whether these Qualifications inspir'd him with the Thoughts of Reigning, or only made him suspected, may be doubted; because it is uncertain whether *Philotas's* Declaration was true, or only forc'd from him by the violence of his Tortures, since when the thing was fresh, and so most likely to be clear'd, it remain'd still doubtful. *Alexander* thought it advisable to separate
from*

from the rest of the Army, those who had complain'd of *Parmenio's* hard Fate, he therefore incorporated them into a Body by themselves, and gave *Leonidas* (who had himself formerly been very intimate with *Parmenio*) the command of 'em. They happen'd to be the very Men he had a private Pique against on another Account. For one Day resolving to sound the Minds of his Soldiers, he gave the whole Army to understand, *That if they had any Letters to send into Macedonia to their Friends, they might give 'em to his Messengers, who would be sure to deliver 'em faithfully.* Hereupon every one writ his Thoughts frankly, some were quite weary of the War, however, the major part lik'd it well enough. The Letters being all brought to the *King*, he thereby discover'd who had writ favourably of him, and who had complain'd of his Proceedings; he therefore now order'd them to encamp separately, by way of Infamy, intending to make use of their Service in the War, and yet prevent their infecting the rest of the Army with their licentious Discourse. The *King's* Conduct might here be call'd in question, (since he thereby exasperated the Minds of a great many brave young Men) yet his usual Happiness turn'd this, as well as all other things, to his Advantage; for in the subsequent Wars, none were readier on all Occasions than they, their Courage spurring them on to signalize themselves, as well to wipe off their Disgrace, as because in so small a Number their gallant Behaviour could not lie undiscover'd.

C H A P. III.

THings being settled after this manner, *Alexander* appointed a Satrap or Governor over the *Arians*, and then gave notice of his Expedition against the *Agriaspians*, who at this time (having chang'd their Appellation) were call'd *Euergetæ*, for their having formerly reliev'd *Cyrus's* Army, when it was afflicted with Hunger and Cold. The fifth Day after *he* arriv'd in this Countrey, *he* receiv'd Intelligence, that *Satibarzanes* (who had revolted to *Bessus*) was march'd with a Body of Horse to make an Irruption into the Countrey of the *Arians*. Hereupon *he* detach'd against him six thousand of the *Grecian* Infantry, and six hundred Horse under the command of *Cananus*, *Erigyius*, *Artabazus* and *Andronicus*; and remain'd himself sixty Days with *Euergetæ*, during which time *he* regulated that State, and bestow'd a great Sum of Money on them for their eminent Service and Fidelity to *Cyrus*; after which *he* constituted *Amenides* Governor over them, and then march'd and subdu'd the *Arachosians*, whose Countrey extends it self as far as the *Pontick Sea*. Here *he* was join'd by the Army *Parmenio* had commanded, which consisted of six thousand *Macedonians*, two hundred of the Nobility, and five thousand *Greeks*, with two hundred Horse; it was, beyond dispute, the main strength of the King's Forces: *He* appointed *Menon* Governor over the *Arachosians* in the Quality of Prætor; then *he* enter'd into a Countrey hardly known to those that border upon it, for the Inhabitants admit of no manner of Communication with their Neighbours. They are call'd *Parapamisada*, and are a very rude unpolish'd People, even to that degree that they may be

be reckon'd the most unciviliz'd of all the *Barbarians* ; the roughness of the Countrey, seems to have contributed to that of their Minds. They lie very far northward, and border upon *Bactriana* on the West, looking towards the *Indian Sea* on the South. Their Cottages are built of Brick from the bottom to the top, the Countrey affording no Wood, not so much as on the Mountains. Their Structure is broad, and by degrees grows narrower as it rises, till at last it closes in the form of the Keel of a Ship, there being a hole left in the middle to transmit the Light. If they find any Vines or Trees any where, not destroy'd by the rigor of the Climate, they cover them with Earth during the Winter, and when the Snow is quite dissolv'd they restore 'em to the Air and the Sun ; but the Snows are here so deep, and so congeal'd with the Frost, that no Footsteps or Traces of Beast or Bird appear in all the Countrey. The Light is so obscure, that it may be compar'd to the dimness of the Night, so that those things that are nearest at Hand are hardly discernible. In this wretched Countrey, destitute of all manner of Culture, the Army suffer'd all kinds of Evils, Hunger, Cold, Weariness and Despair. The excessive coldness of the Snow kill'd a great many, it destroy'd the Feet of others, but it was generally very pernicious to their Eyes. If, being tir'd, they laid themselves down upon the frozen Snow, their Bodies, for want of Motion, were so penetrated by the piercing rigor of the Air, that they could not rise again, till help'd up by their Companions, who found no better Expedient to unbenumb their stiff Limbs, than that of compelling 'em to walk ; by which means the vital Heat being put into Motion, they recover'd some part of their former Vigor : Such of 'em as could get into any of the Cottages were soon restor'd, but then the Dark-
ness

ness was so great, that these Cottages were only discoverable by the Smoke : As the Inhabitants had never seen any Strangers before in their Territories, when they perceiv'd the arm'd Soldiers they were ready to die with Fear, and very willingly brought to 'em what their Huts afforded, desiring only they would spare their Lives.

The King walk'd on foot round his Forces, raising such as were laid down, and supporting others that could not walk ; sometimes in the Front, sometimes in the Middle, and sometimes in the Rear, sparing no Pains to express his Care for his Men. At length they came to a better Country, where he refresh'd his Army with plenty of Victuals, and waited till those that could not keep up with him had rejoin'd him.

From hence *he* mov'd towards Mount *Caucasus*, which with its long ridge of Hills stretches it self thro' *Asia*, having on one side of it the *Cilician* Sea, and on the other the *Caspian* Sea, the River *Araxes*, and the Deserts of *Scythia*: Mount *Taurus*, which holds the second Rank for bigness, joins to Mount *Caucasus* ; it takes its Rise from *Cappadocia*, and running across *Cilicia* joins it self to the Mountains of *Armenia*, so that all these Mountains being united from one continu'd ridge, out of which almost all the Rivers of *Asia* flow, some emptying themselves into the *Red Sea*, others discharging themselves into the *Caspian* Sea, while others again fall into the *Hyrcanian* and *Pontick* Sea. The Army pass'd over Mount *Caucasus* in seventeen Days ; there is a Rock in it ten Furlongs in compass, and above four in highth, to which (as Antiquity relates) *Prometheus* was bound. At the foot of this Montain, *Alexander* made choice of a Place to build a City, which he peopled with seven thousand of the oldest *Macedonians*, and such other Soldiers as were of no farther

ther use to him. The Inhabitants gave it the Name of *Alexandria*.

C H A P. IV.

BUT *Bessus* being alarm'd at *Alexander's* Expedition, offer'd a Sacrifice to the Gods of the Countrey; and then according to the Custom of those People, at an Entertainment which he gave his Friends, he deliberated with them concerning the War. As they were well loaded with Wine, they extoll'd their own Strength, and despis'd the Enemy, one while for their Rashness, and then again for their small Number: *Bessus* particularly was very furious in his Expressions, and being elated on the account of the Kingdom, he had lately procur'd by his Treason, he told 'em, it was *Darius's* Folly, that had given the Enemies Arms so great a Reputation, for he must needs go and meet them in the Straits of Cilicia, when at the same time by retiring, he might have drawn 'em insensibly into Places impracticable even by their natural Situation, casting so many Rivers and Mountains in their Way, that they might have been surpriz'd in those lonesome Retreats, and hinder'd from all Possibility of flying, without having it in their Power to make any Resistance. It was his Resolution therefore to repair to the Sogdians, and so leave the River Oxus as a Wall between him and the Enemy, till he had got together a powerful Army from the neighbouring Nations. The Chorasmiens, the Dahæ, the Sacæ, and the Indians as well as the Scythians that inhabit beyond the River Tanais, would not fail to join him, who are none of them so low in Stature, but that their Shoulders are upon the level with the Macedonians Heads. They
una-

unanimously (in their drunken Humour) agreed, that that was the wisest Course he could take. Hereupon *Bessus* caus'd the Wine to be fill'd about plentifully, and routed *Alexander* Horse and Foot at Table. There happen'd to be at the Feast, amongst the rest, a *Median* nam'd *Cobares*, more renowned for his Profession of the Magical Art, (if it may be call'd an Art, and not rather an Illusion upon superstitious Tempers) than for any great Knowledge he had therein; but otherwise he was a moderate good Man enough. This Man (by the way of Preface) told *Bessus*, *he was sensible it was safer for a Servant to obey blindly, than to give Advice; since they who obey are sure of the same Lot with the rest: Whereas they that venture to persuade or give Counsel, run a particular Risk.* Upon these Words, *Bessus* gave him the Cup he had in his Hand; which *Cobares* having receiv'd, he express'd himself in the following manner: *Mankind is in this respect very unhappy, that every one is of a clearer Sight in other Peoples Affairs, than in his own. There is a Confusion of Thoughts in him that advises with himself; Fear, Desire, and an overweening to our own Conceptions, are so many Obstacles: As for Pride, it cannot be thought to fall into your Nature. You have found by Experience, however, that every one flatters himself so far, as to think his own Counsel the only salutary and proper Expedient. Now you ought to reflect, that you bear a great Burden on your Head in the Crown; you must carry it with Wisdom and Moderation, or it will (I speak it with Horror) crush you. It is Conduct and Prudence that are requisite in the present Juncture; Rashness and Violence are altogether useless.* Then he took notice of a Proverb among the *Bactrians*; *That the fearful Dog barks furiously, tho' he dares not bite; and the deepest Rivers glide along with the least Noise.* Which Sayings I take notice

notice of, to shew, that even among the *Barbarians*, there were some Sparks of Wisdom worthy Observation. This awaken'd the Attention of the whole Assembly, who were in mighty Expectation of the main Drift of his Discourse. After which, he spoke his Opinion, which would have prov'd more useful to *Bessus*, than it was agreeable. *You have*, says he, *almost at the Gates of your Palace, an expeditious indefatigable Prince, who will sooner move his whole Army, than you remove this Table. Is this a time to call for Troops from the River Tanais, or to think of opposing Rivers to the Enemy? Can you imagine, that you can fly where he cannot follow you? The Way is in common to you both, but indeed, is safest to the Victor. And if you look upon Fear to be nimble and swift, you ought to consider, that Hope is still swifter. Why don't you therefore court the Favour of the stronger, and lay your self at his Mercy? Be the Event what it will, it cannot but be more advantageous to you to surrender your self, than to remain his Enemy. The Crown you wear, is not your own, and therefore you may the more willingly part with it; besides, you may then perhaps with Reason think your self a lawful King, when he has made you such, who can either give or take away your Kingdom. You have here a faithful Counsel, which to be long in excuting, is so much Time lost. The Horse of Spirit is governed by the very Shadow of the Switch, whereas the dull Fade is not quicken'd even by the Spur.*

Bessus who was cholerick in his Nature, and at this time heated with Wine, could hardly be kept by his Friends from killing him, for he drew his Sword in order to it, and in a Rage left the Company, and *Cobares* during the Tumult, fled to *Alexander*. *Bessus's* Army consisted of eight thousand *Bactrians*, who (while they believ'd the Rigor of their Climate would caue the *Macedonians*

to march into *India*) remain'd faithful to him; but when they had certain Advice of *Alexander's* coming against them, they all deserted *Bessus*, every one repairing to his own Habitation. As for *Bessus*, he with a small Number of such as had an immediate Dependence on him, and therefore adher'd firmly to him, pass'd the River *Oxus*, burning afterwards their Boats, that the Enemy might not make use of 'em, and then endeavour'd to raise a fresh Army among the *Sodgians*.

Alexander, as we said before, had pass'd over Mount *Caucasus*; but there was such a Scarcity of Corn in his Camp, that it was not far from a Famine. They express'd the Juice of *Sesama*, and therewith anointed their Limbs, as if it had been Oil; but this it self was so dear, that each Measure call'd *Amphora*, sold for two hundred and forty *Denarij*; the same Measure of Honey, cost three hundred and ninety; and that of Wine, three hundred; as for Wheat, there was none at all, or a very small Quantity. These *Barbarians* use subterranean *Granaries*, which they call *Siri*, and cover them so artfully, that none but those that are privy to 'em, can find 'em out. In these they had bury'd all their Corn, so that the Soldiers for want thereof, were forc'd to live upon Herbs, and such Fish as the Rivers afforded: When this Food fail'd 'em likewise, they were commanded to kill their Carriage Cattle, by which means they made a shift to subsist till they came into *Bactriana*. This Countrey has great Variety of Soils; some Places abound with Trees and Vines, and afford Plenty of very good Fruits, the Soil being fat and well water'd. That Ground that is fit for Corn they sow with Wheat, and the rest serves as Pasturage for their Cattle. At the same time a great Part of this Countrey, is nothing but barren Sands, whose excessive Sterility and Dryness, affords no Nourishment

Nourishment neither for Man, nor Fruit; and when the Winds blow from the pontick Sea, they sweep these sandy Plains into great Heaps, which at a distance have the Appearance of Hills, and thereby quite destroy all the Marks of former Roads. They therefore that travel this way, are oblig'd to observe the Stars in the Night, like Mariners, and by their means direct their Course; and indeed the nocturnal Shade, is rather more luminous than the Day-light; so that there is no travelling here in the Day-time, there being no Track or Foot-step to follow, and the Stars being intercepted by thick Mists. Now if any Persons are travelling, while the aforesaid Winds blow, they are sure to be overwhelm'd with this flying Sand. On the other side, where the Countrey affords a better Soil, it is crowded with Inhabitants, and well stock'd with Horses. *Bactra* which is the capital City of this Countrey, is situate under a Hill call'd *Parapamissus*; the River *Bactrus* runs by its Walls, and gives its Name both to the Town and Countrey.

While the King lay here encamp'd, he receiv'd an Account out of Greece, *That the Peloponnesians and Lacedemonians had revolted*; for they were not yet reduc'd, when the Messengers first set out to acquaint *Alexander* with their Defection. This ill News was attended by another more immediate Danger from the Scythians, who inhabit beyond the River *Tanais*, and were said to be coming to assist *Bessus*. He likewise receiv'd at this time, an Account of what had pass'd in the Countrey of the *Arians*, under the Conduct of *Caranus* and *Erigyus*. The *Macedonians* and *Arians* being engag'd, *Satibarzanes* who commanded the latter, seeing the Men did not fight with that Vigor he desir'd they should (both Armies seeming to have equal Advantage) rid up to the first Rank, and

and caus'd a Cessation of Arms; then taking off his Helmet, *he challeng'd any one of the Macedonians to a single Combat, and at the same time declar'd he would fight bare-headed.* Erigyius could not brook the Insolence of the Barbarian, and notwithstanding he was advanc'd in Years, yet he was not inferior to any of the young Men in point of Courage or Strength of Body: He therefore took off his Helmet, and shewing his grey Hairs, said, *The Day is come in which I will either by a Victory, or an honourable Death, demonstrate to the World what Friends and Soldiers Alexander has.* And without any farther Speech, he rid up to the Enemy. One would have thought both Armies had receiv'd Orders to hold their Hands, and forbear fighting; for they immediately drew back and gave the Combatants room, both sides being intent upon the Issue of this Duel, which was not only to decide the matter between the two Generals, but also between both Armies. The Barbarian cast his Javelin first, which Erigyius avoided by a small Declination of his Head, and clapping Spurs to his Horse, run his Spear into his Adversary's Throat, so that it came out behind his Neck. The Barbarian hereupon fell from his Horse, but yet struggl'd, which made Erigyius draw his Spear out of his Throat, and run it into his Mouth. And Satibarzanes to rid himself the sooner of his Pain, clap'd his Hand to the Spear, and further'd his Enemy's Stroke.

The Barbarians having lost their General, whom they had follow'd, more out of Necessity than Good-will, and calling to Mind Alexander's Favours to 'em, deliver'd up their Arms to Erigyius. The King was pleas'd with this Success, but was a little uneasie at the Lacedemonians Defection; however, *he bore it with great Magnanimity, and said, They did not dare to discover their Intentions, till they*

they understood he was advanc'd to the remotest part of India. Then decamping, he continu'd his Pursuit of Bessus, and was met by Erigyius, who shew'd him the Spoils of his Enemy, as an Ornament of his glorious Victory.

C H A P. V.

Alexander having committed the Countrey of *Bactriana* to the Care of *Artabazus*, left there his Baggage, under a sufficient Guard; while *he* with a flying Camp enter'd into the Desarts of the *Sodgians*, marching his Army by Night. The great Want of Water here (as we before took notice) inflam'd the Soldiers Drought (by the Despair of getting any) before they had any real Occasion to drink. For the Space of four hundred Furlongs, there is not a Drop of Water to be found, and the Heat of the Sun in Summer, being very vehement, it kindles such a Fire in the Sands, that they burn whatever they touch. Besides, there arises such a Mist (occasion'd by this excessive Heat of the Sand) that the Light is much obscur'd thereby, and the Plains carry the Appearance of a vast and deep Sea. Notwithstanding all which, it was tolerable good travelling there in the Night, by reason of the Dews and the Freshness of the Mornings. However, as the Heat begins with the very Light, it soon parches up all the Moisture of the Air, so that not only the outward Parts, but even the Bowels, are quite burn'd up with it. In these Extremities therefore, their Hearts fail'd them first, and then their Bodies became faint, and they were as unwilling to stand still, as to go forward. Some few amongst 'em, by the Advice of such as knew the Countrey, had provided them-

2 selves

selves with Water; this serv'd them a little while, but as the Heat increas'd, so did the Desire of Liquor to quench their Thirst. This made it a Necessity to distribute among them, what Wine and Oil there was. The Pleasure they found in drinking, was so great, that they did not reflect they should be dry any more, and therefore drank so largely, that they were no longer able to carry their Arms, nor to march; so that they seem'd happier when they wanted Water, than after they were supply'd with Wine and Oil, since by their immoderate Use of it, they were forc'd to vomit it up again. As the King was thoroughly griev'd at all these Calamities, *his* Friends came about *him*, and desir'd *him* to reflect, that *his* great Soul was the only Remedy in the present Misfortune. It happen'd at this Juncture of Time, that two of those that were sent before to mark out a Camp, came and met *him*, bringing along with them some Bottles of Water, which they intended for their Sons, who were in the Army, and were ready to perish with Thirst. When they saw the King, one of 'em opening a Bottle, pour'd out a Cup full, and presented it to his Majesty. He took it from him, and ask'd him, who they intended the Water for? To which they answer'd, for their Sons. Whereupon the King returning the Cup full as it was, said, *I cannot find in my Heart to drink alone, and this small Quantity will not afford every one some, wherefore carry it to your Sons for whom you first designed it.*

At length *he* came to the River Oxus, about the Beginning of the Night; but a great part of the Army not having been able to keep up with him; *He caus'd Fires to be made on the Tops of Hills, that they that were behind, might thereby know they were not far from the Camp.* Then *he* order'd them that were with him, to refresh themselves with Vi-
ctuals

Stuals and Drink as fast as they could, and then take Water in Skins and other Vessels, and carry them to their Fellow Soldiers. They who drank immoderately, immediately dy'd; and *he* lost more Men this way, than *he* had ever lost in any Battel. As for *himself*, he kept on *his* Armour, and without either eating or drinking, plac'd himself on the Way the Army was to come, without any Refreshment at all, till all those that lagg'd behind, had pass'd by *him*; and afterwards he pass'd all that Night without Sleep, in great Anxiety of Mind.

The next Day *he* was not less uneasie, because he had no Boats, and there was no Possibility of building a Bridge, there being no Timber thereabout. *He* therefore had recourse to the only Expedient Necessity suggested to *him*; which was to cause a great Number of Skins to be fill'd with Straw, and distributed to the Soldiers, upon which they laid themselves, and so pass'd the River: They that got over first, put themselves in Order of Battel, till the rest swam over to them. Thus in six Days *he* pass'd his whole Army to the other side, and was resolv'd now to continue his Pursuit of *Bessus*, when he receiv'd Information of what had happen'd among the *Sodgians*.

There was one *Spitamenes*, who was particularly in *Bessus* his Favour, and had receiv'd great Honours from him. But a perfidious Nature is not to be prevail'd upon by Merit, or Kindness; however, it was less odious in him, by reason nothing could be reckon'd criminal that was done against *Bessus*, who had so basely murder'd his Sovereign. Besides, this *Spitamenes* put a fair Gloss upon his Treachery, pretending he did it to revenge *Darius*; whereas in truth, it was *Bessus*'s Fortune they envy'd, more than they hated his Crime.

When this Man understood that *Alexander* had pass'd the River *Oxus*, he communicated his Design to *Dataphernes* and *Catenes* (in whom *Bessus* had the greatest Confidence) who very readily enter'd into his Measures, and taking with them eight lusty young Fellows, they resolv'd upon this Wile. *Spitamenes* goes to *Bessus*, and privately tells him, *he understood Dataphernes and Catenes had conspir'd to seize him, and deliver him up alive to Alexander; that therefore he had secur'd 'em, and put them in Bonds.* Hereupon *Bessus* thinking himself very much oblig'd to him, return'd him many Thanks, and being eager to take Satisfaction of them, order'd 'em to be brought before him. They having their Hands ty'd by Concert, suffer'd themselves to be led by their Accomplices; and *Bessus* no sooner saw them, but looking at them with a stern Countenance, he rose up with a Design to wreak his Revenge upon 'em. But they laying aside the Disguise, surrounded him immediately, and bound him, pulling the Diadem from his Head, and tearing his Garment, which was part of the Spoils he had taken from the murder'd King. He then confess'd, *That the avenging Gods were at hand; and added, that they were not unjust to Darius, whom they reveng'd after this manner; but were over propitious to Alexander, whose Victories were always promoted by his Enemies.* It is a doubtful thing, whether the Majority of the *Bactrians* would have tamely suffer'd this Usage of him, had not the Conspirators given out, that they did it by *Alexander's* Orders, and so terrify'd those whose Thoughts were at Uncertainty. Having therefore set him on Horseback, they brought him away, in order to deliver him up to the King, who in the mean time had made a Draft of nine hundred Men, whose Service deserv'd they should be dismiss'd. He therefore gave to every Trooper

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two *Talents*, and to every Foot-Soldier, three thousand *Denarij*, and having enjoin'd 'em to *marry and get Children*, he sent them home. At the same time, he thank'd the rest for their *Willingness to serve him in the remaining part of the War*. While *Bessus* was bringing to him, he came to a little Town, whose Inhabitants were call'd *Branchida*. They were by *Xerxes's* Order (when he return'd from *Greece*) transplanted from *Miletum*, and assign'd this Settlement in consideration of their having pillag'd the Temple of *Apollo Didymaus*, in his Favour. They had not quite forsaken the Customs of their ancient Countrey, but their Language was a sort of Medley, made up of their own and that of the Countrey they now inhabited. They express'd a great deal of Joy at the King's Arrival, and readily surrender'd both themselves and their Town to him. Hereupon *Alexander* call'd together the *Milesians* that serv'd in his Army. Now we must observe, that the *Milesians* bore an old Grudge to the *Branchida*. The King therefore referr'd it to them, whether they would consider their Extraction, or revenge their former Injury; and as they vary'd in their Opinions, he told 'em, *he would advise with himself what was best to be done in the matter*. The next Day, when the Deputies from the *Branchida* came to meet him, he commanded them to attend him, and being come to the Town, he enter'd the Gates thereof with part of his Army, and order'd the *Phalanx* to surround the Place, and upon the Signal given, to pillage that Receptacle of Traitors, and put them all to the Sword. These poor Wretches being in a defenceless Condition, were every where butcher'd, and neither Conformity of Language, the humble Posture of Suppliants, nor the most fervent Intreaty, could put a Stop to this authoriz'd Cruelty. The very Foundations of the Walls were

dug up, that there might not be the least Foot-steps left of the Town. Their Fury did not stop here, for they not only cut down the consecrated Woods, but also grubb'd up the very Roots thereof, that there might be nothing left but a barren waste Solitude. Now had this Cruelty been practis'd on the first Transgressors, it might have been thought a just Punishment of their Crime; but here Posterity is punish'd for the Sins of its Forefathers, without ever having so much as seen *Miletum*, far from being able to betray it to *Xerxes*.

From hence he advanc'd to the River *Tanais*; Here *Bessus* was brought to him, not only bound, but strip'd of all his Cloaths. *Spitamenes* led him by a Chain that went about his Neck; a Sight no less agreeable to the *Barbarians*, than to the *Macedonians*. Then *Spitamenes* addressing himself to *Alexander*, said, *I have reveng'd the Cause of Darius, and you, Sir, both my Sovereigns, and have brought to you the base Murderer of his King, having taken him after the same manner as he gave the Example. O that Darius could open his Eyes to view this Spectacle! That he could arise from the Dead, who deserv'd not that Punishment, but well deserves this Comfort!*

Alexander having commended *Spitamenes*, turned to *Bessus*, and ask'd him, *What beastly Rage had prompted him, first to bind, and then to murder a Prince who had loaded him with so many Favours? But*, said he, *the usurp'd Title of King was the Reward of thy Parricide. To which Bessus not daring to excuse his Crime, answer'd; That it was true he had taken upon him the Regal Dignity, but it was only that he might thereby be able to preserve it for him, since if he had not done so, some Body else would not have fail'd to seize it. But Alexander without having any Regard to this Speech, call'd for Oxathres Darius's Brother, (who*
was

was one of his Body Guards) and order'd *Bessus* to be deliver'd up to him, that being fasten'd to a Cross, having his Ears and Nose cut off, he might serve for a mark for the Barbarians to shoot at with their Bows, without suffering the very Birds to impair his Body. *Oxathres* readily took upon him to see all the rest perform'd, but as for the keeping off the Birds, none could do that besides *Catenes*, which he said out of a desire to shew his unparallell'd Dexterity; for he shot with so exact an aim, that the very Birds flying could not escape him: And notwithstanding the common practice of Shooting with Bows and Arrows, render'd this Art less admirable, yet those that beheld the Performance were surpriz'd, and *Catenes* was highly esteem'd for it; afterwards the King made Presents to all those who had brought *Bessus* to him, but delay'd his Execution till they came to the same Place where he had kill'd *Darius*.

C H A P. VI.

IN the mean time the *Macedonians* going out to Forage, without observing their usual Discipline, were attack'd and worsted by the *Barbarians*, who came upon them from the neighbouring Mountains, and took a great many more of them Prisoners than they kill'd; so that driving the Captives before them, they return'd again to the Hills. They were about twenty thousand that lurk'd here, and were accusom'd to live by Plunder. Their Arms were Slings and Bows. The King therefore came and besieg'd them, and as he was fighting amongst the foremost, was wounded with an Arrow in the middle of the Leg, where the head of the Arrow stuck; here-

upon the *Macedonians* were in the greatest Affliction, and carry'd him back to the Camp. The *Barbarians* were not unsensible of the King's being carry'd off from the Place of Action, for they could discover every thing from the top of the Hill. They therefore sent the next Day Deputies to the King, whom *he* immediately order'd to be introduc'd ; and taking off the Bandage from his Leg, *he* shew'd it to them, dissembling the Danger of his Wound ; then having commanded 'em to sit down, they told *him*, *The Macedonians themselves were not more afflicted at his being wounded than they were, and that if they knew the Author of it, they would presently deliver him into his Hands ; for it belong'd only to the Sacrilegious to fight with the Gods, and therefore they submitted to him, being overcome by his Virtue and Bravery.* The King hereupon having receiv'd his Captives, took them into his Protection.

After this he decamp'd, being carry'd in a military Litter, both Horse and Foot striving for the Honour of being his Bearers ; the Horse alledg'd in Justification of their Pretensions, *That the King usually fought amongst 'em.* On the other side, the Foot thought it their right, because *they were us'd to carry their fellow Soldiers when wounded, and therefore look'd upon it as an Injustice done 'em to be depriv'd of their Office in the Person of their King.* Wherefore the King taking into Consideration their mutual Strife, and reflecting how hard it was to make a Choice in the present Case, since they who were rejected would think themselves injur'd, commanded 'em to take him by Turns.

From hence they came the fourth Day to a Town call'd *Maracanda*, the Walls whereof were threescore and ten Furlongs in compass, but the Castle had no Walls ; leaving therefore a Garrison in the Town, he burnt and pillag'd the Neighbouring

bouring Villages. Here *he* receiv'd Ambassadors from the *Abian Scythians*, who had maintain'd their Liberty ever since the decease of *Cyrus*, but now readily offer'd to submit to his Commands. It is certain they were the justest of all the *Barbarians*, never having recourse to Arms but when provok'd; and were besides so righteous in their moderate and fair Use of their Liberty, that the Meanest among 'em were upon the level with the Greatest. The King having receiv'd 'em graciously, sent *Penidas*, who was of the Band of his Friends, to those *Scythians* who inhabit *Europe*, to forbid them to pass the River *Tanais* without his Leave. He likewise order'd him, to make the best discovery he could of the Situation of the Countrey; and also to visit those *Scythians* that border on the *Bosphorus*. He had made choice of a Place to build a City on, upon the Bank of the *Tanais*, which might serve as a Curb to those Nations he had already subdu'd, as well as to those he should hereafter conquer: But this Design was delay'd by the Revolt of the *Sogdians*, which was follow'd by that of the *Bactrians*. They were about seven thousand Horse, whose Authority influenc'd the rest; *Alexander* therefore sent for *Spitamenes* and *Catenes* who had deliver'd *Bessus* to him, no wise doubting but by their Interest the Insurrection might be suppress'd, and the Ringleaders secur'd. But as they were themselves the Authors of the Commotions they were sent to quiet, they spread a Rumor, That the King had sent for the *Bactrian* Cavalry for no other End but to be cut to pieces, and that this was their Commission, but they were far from being capable of executing so abominable a Design against their own Countrey-men; for which they detested *Alexander's* Cruelty as much as they hated *Bessus's* Parricide. As they were of themselves inclin'd to rise, it was no difficult matter

by such Insinuations as these, to make 'em take to their Arms. The King being inform'd of the Defection of these Traytors, commanded *Craterus* to besiege *Cyropolis*, while *he himself* took another Town in the same Countrey by a general Assault; upon the Signal given they kill'd all that were at Man's Estate, the rest were a prey to the Victors: The Town was demolish'd for an Example to others.

This did not hinder the *Memaceni*ans (who were a valiant People) from resolving to sustain a Siege, as being not only the most honourable but safest course. The King therefore sent before him fifty Troopers with Instructions to make the Inhabitants sensible of his great Clemency and Goodness to those that submitted to him; and at the same time how inexorable he was to those that held out against him. To which they made answer, That they did not doubt either of the King's Honour or Power: However, they desir'd them to pitch their Tents without the Walls of the Town, where they entertain'd 'em very courteously; and at Midnight, when they were in a profound Sleep, being loaded with Wine, they set upon them and cut all their Throats. *Alexander* was no less mov'd at this Usage than the barbarity of the Act requir'd, and immediately march'd and invested the City, which was too strongly fortified to be taken at the first Assault: So that he left *Meleager* and *Perdiccas* to carry on this Siege, and with the rest of the Forces he join'd *Craterus*, who, as we said before, was besieging *Cyropolis*.

The King had a great desire to spare this Town, in favour of *Cyrus*, its Founder, for whose Memory, and that of *Semiramis*, he had a great Veneration, on the account of their extraordinary Vertue, Magnanimity, and memorable Exploits; but finding the Besieg'd remain'd obstinate,
it

it so incens'd him against them, that having taken the Town, *he* abandon'd it to the *Macedonians* to be pillag'd, who were not without Cause very severe to them. After this *he* return'd to *Meleager* and *Perdiccas*, who were left to carry on the Siege of the *Memaceni*. No Town ever defended it self better; here *he* lost *his* bravest Men, and was in the greatest Danger *himself*, for *he* receiv'd so furious a blow on the Neck with a Stone, that it took away his Sight, and the present use of his Reason. The Army was in the greatest Consternation now, as thinking *he* could hardly recover; but *he* was invincible to those things that terrifie others, and therefore without waiting till *his* Wound was cur'd, *he* carry'd on the Siege with greater Vigour, *his* Anger quickening his natural Dispatch and Expedition. Having therefore undermin'd the Wall, and made thereby a considerable Breach, *he* carry'd the Place by Storm, and caus'd it to be demolish'd. This done, *he* detach'd *Menedemus* with three thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse to the City of *Maracanda*, from whence *Spitamenes* had driven the *Macedonian* Garrison, shutting himself up therein, as in a Place of safety. The Inhabitants did not much approve of his Proceeding, yet they seem'd to consent to it, not being able to oppose him. In the mean time *Alexander* return'd to the River *Tanaïs*, where *he* inclos'd with a Wall as much Ground as *his* Camp had taken up, which was threescore Furlongs in compass, and caus'd the Town *he* built therein to be also call'd *Alexandria*. The Work was carry'd on with so much Celerity, that in seventeen Days both the Walls and Houses were finish'd. There was a mighty Strife among the Soldiers, who should soonest perform their Task (for the Work was divided amongst 'em) so that the whole being soon perfected, *he*

peopled it with the Captives, whose Ransoms *he* paid to their respective Owners ; and their Posterity (notwithstanding the many Ages that are since elaps'd) are still in Consideration, out of respect to *Alexander's* Memory.

C H A P. VII.

THE King of those *Scythians* whose Empire lies beyond the *Tanais*, looking on the new built Town as a Yoke the *Macedonians* had put about their Necks ; sent *his* Brother with a great Body of Horse to demolish it, and remove the *Macedonian Forces* from it. The *Tanais* divides the *Bactrians* from the *European Scythians*, and likewise serves for the Bounds of *Asia* and *Europe* : The *Scythian* Nation not being far distant from *Thrace*, extends it self from the East to the Northward, and are not, as some have thought, borderers on the *Sarmatians*, but are a part of that People. They also inhabit that Countrey that lies beyond the *Ister*, and touches upon *Bactriana*, which is in the extreme parts of *Asia*, Northward, where there are vast Forests, and unbounded Wastes ; but that part of the Countrey that lies near the *Tanais*, and looks towards *Bactriana*, does not differ much in Culture from other improv'd Territories.

Alexander finding himself oblig'd to enter upon an unforeseen War with these People, and observing with what Insolence they rid up and down within his Sight ; altho' he was not yet recover'd of his Wound, and his Voice particularly fail'd him by reason of his slender Diet, and the violent Pain in his Neck, *summon'd his Friends to Council*. He was not afraid of the Enemy, but uneasie at the unhappy Juncture of Affairs. The *Bactrians* were

in open Rebellion, the *Scythians* insulted him when he was neither able to stand nor ride, and so could neither give necessary Orders, nor encourage his Men. In this double perplexity he could not forbear complaining of the Gods, *who forc'd him to lie Idle, whose Diligence heretofore none could escape; but now his own Soldiers had much ado to believe he did not counterfeit being Ill.* This made *Alexander*, who since *Darius's* Overthrow, had never consulted the Soothsayers, return again to that Superstition, or rather Delusion of Mankind; he therefore commanded *Aristander*, in whom he had the greatest Confidence, to offer Sacrifice, in order thereby to penetrate into the Event of Things. Now it was the Custom of these Soothsayers to inspect the Intrails of Beasts without the King, and make a Report to him of their Observations. While these means were using to find out the hidden Issue of Affairs, he order'd his Friends *Hephæstion*, *Craterus* and *Erigyus*, with his Body Guards to draw near him, that he might not, by straining his Voice, break the Cicatrix of his Wound; which was yet but tender. After which he spoke to them in the following manner. *The Danger I have to encounter with comes upon me at a Juncture more favourable to my Enemy than my self; but Necessity takes place of Reason, and more especially in War, where it very rarely happens that we can chuse our own Times. The Bactrians have revolted when we were just ready to put our Yoke upon 'em, and they shall find by others Experience what we are able to do. It is plain, that if we leave the Scythians, who attack us of their own Choice, we shall appear despicable to those who have rebell'd; but if on the contrary we pass the Tanais, and shew ourselves invincible at the Scythians Cost, there is no doubt to be made, but Europe will also lie open to our victorious Arms. He is deceiv'd who pretends*

to set bounds to our Glory. We have only one River to pass to carry our Arms into Europe, and what an Honour will it be to us at the same time that we are subduing Asia, to erect Trophies of our Conquests, as it were in a new World, by uniting with one Victory what Nature separated at so great a distance? But on the other side, if we make the least Delay, we shall infallibly have the Scythians upon our Backs. Are we the only Men that can pass Rivers? A great many things by the means whereof we have hitherto been successful will turn against us. Fortune will teach the vanquish'd the Art of War. We have lately shewn the way to pass Rivers upon Skins, which admit the Scythians to be yet ignorant of, the Bactrians will soon reach 'em the way. Besides, there is yet but the Army of one of these Nations arriv'd, there are others daily expected; so that by declining the War we foment it: And whereas we can now carry the War where we please, by our neglect we shall be forc'd to be upon the defensive. What I say is self-evident, but whether the Macedonians will suffer me to act after my own way I cannot tell, because since my last wound I have not been able to ride on Horseback, or to go on Foot: However, if you are willing to follow me, my Friends, I am well. I think my self strong enough to bear the Fatigue, and if the period of my Life be at hand, which way can I die more gloriously?

He utter'd these things with so weak a Voice, that they who were next to him could hardly hear him, so that they unanimously endeavour'd to divert him from so rash an Enterprize, especially Erigyius, who (finding he could not prevail upon his Obstinacy by his Interest with him) had recourse to Superstition, which the King was very much addicted to, and therefore told him, That the Gods themselves oppos'd his Design, and threaten'd

ten'd him with some extraordinary Misfortune if he pass'd the River. Erigyius, as he was entering the King's Tent, had met Aristander, who had inform'd him, That the Entrails of the Beasts appear'd unlucky. Hereupon Alexander silenc'd him, reddening with Anger as well as Shame, that his Superstition, which he thought to conceal, was thus made publick, and sent for Aristander; who being come, he told him (a little transported) That he suppos'd he was no longer his King, but a private Person; did not I command you to offer a Sacrifice? Why then did you disclose to any but my self what the same portended? Erigyius, by your Treachery has penetrated into my Secrets; but I am confident he covers his own Fear by that Interpretation. I therefore command you to tell me your self, what you learn'd by your Observation of the Victims, that you may not have it in your Power to deny what you shall have said. Aristander at these Words stood like one astonish'd, turning pale almost speechless thro' Fear; but then again, the same Fear prompted him to speak, lest he should provoke the King still more by his long silence: He therefore said, I foretold that your present Undertaking would be both perillous and full of Difficulties, but not unsuccessful; neither is it any discovery from my Art, but the sincerity of my dutiful Affection for you, that makes me uneasy. I see how weak you are, and am sensible how much depends on your Person alone. In fine, I fear you have not strength enough to help out your Fortune as heretofore.

The King bidding him not distrust his Happiness (since the Gods intended him still a larger portion of Glory) dismiss'd him. Afterwards, while the King was deliberating with the same Persons, how he should pass the River, Aristander return'd and assur'd him, he had sacrific'd again, and had
never

never observ'd more promising Omens, they being very different from the first, in which there was some ground for Solicitude: whereas now the Gods seem'd to be altogether propitious.

However, the News that was brought *Alexander* soon after seem'd to break the Chain of his uninterrupted Prosperity. We took notice before that he had detach'd *Menedemus* to besiege *Spitamenes*, the Author of the *Bactrian* Insurrection; who upon Advice of the Enemy's approach, to avoid being pent up within the Walls of a Town, and conceiving withal some hopes of trepanning him, had plac'd himself in Ambuscade on the Way he knew he was to come. There was a Wood thro' which *Menedemus* was to pass, and by reason of its covert, very fit for *Spitamenes*'s purpose; here he plac'd the *Daba*, whose Horses carry each two arm'd Soldiers, who by turns, as occasion serves, suddenly dismount, and put the best order'd Cavalry in Confusion, for the Men are as swift as the Horses.

Spitamenes order'd therefore these Troops to surround the Wood, and upon the Signal given to attack the Enemy in Front, Flank and Rear; at the same time *Menedemus* finding himself thus hemm'd in on all sides, and much inferior in Number, resolv'd to make the best Resistance he could, and so told his Men, *That the only Comfort they could now propose to themselves was to dye well reveng'd.* He was himself mounted on a strong Horse, with which he had often broke down the Enemies Ranks, and put them to Flight with great loss; but being at present attack'd on all sides, and almost bloodless by the many wounds he had receiv'd, he desir'd a certain Friend of his, nam'd *Hypsides*, to get upon his Horse, and try to save him; but while this was doing he dy'd, and fell to the Ground. However, *Hypsides* might have

have got off, if he had had a mind, but having lost his Friend he scorn'd to live. His only Care was to sell his Life as dear as he could; clapping therefore Spurs to his Horse, he rode in among the thickest of the Enemy, and having made a great Slaughter at last was kill'd. They that still remain'd perceiving this, retir'd to an Eminence hard by, and were at last reduc'd by Famine. In this Action there perish'd two thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse, which loss *Alexander* wisely conceal'd by threat'ning with Death those that return'd from the Defeat, if they divulg'd it.

C H A P. VIII.

BUT as *he* could no longer carry on his Disimulation, *he* repair'd to his Tent, which *he* had caus'd on purpose to be pitch'd upon the Bank of the River; there *he* pass'd the Night alone without Sleep, casting in his Mind what was best to be done in the present Juncture, and frequently lifting up the Skins of his Tent to behold the Enemies Fires, and be able to guess at their Number. As soon as it was Day, *he* put on his Armour and shew'd *himself* to the Army now the first time since *he* receiv'd his last wound. They had so great a Veneration for their King, that his presence soon dissipated their Fears; they therefore, with Tears of Joy in their Eyes, saluted *him*, and now press'd *him* hard to enter upon the War, which they had before refus'd. Upon this *he* told them, *He would pass the Horse, and the Phalanx in flote Boats, and the light arm'd part of the Army on stuff'd Skins, as he had done heretofore.* There was no occasion for his saying more, neither could *he*, by reason of his Infirmary.

The

The Soldiers immediately fell to work with so much cheerfulness, that in three Days time they made twelve thousand of these Boats. Every thing was now in readiness-for their Passage, when there came twenty Ambassadors from the *Scythians*, according to the Custom of that Nation, and riding about the Camp, desir'd the King might be inform'd *they had a Message to him*: They being introduc'd accordingly, and order'd by *his Majesty* to sit down, look'd very earnestly at him: I suppose for this reason, that they make an Estimate of the Mind from the size of the Body, and as *he* was but of a moderate Stature they did not think him proportionable to his mighty Character. The *Scythians* are not a dull, heavy People, like the rest of the *Barbarians*; nay, some of them are said to attain to as much Knowledge as is consistent with any Nation that is constantly in Arms. It is said, they address'd themselves to the King in the following Terms; which, tho' perhaps different from our Manners, who live in a politer Age, and have our Parts better improv'd, yet such as it is, we shall faithfully relate, hoping that if their Speech be despis'd, our Integrity will not be suspected. The eldest of 'em therefore said, *If the Gods had given you a Body suitable to the insatiable Greediness of your Mind, the World would not be able to contain you; you would stretch one Arm out to the farthest Extremities of the East, and the other to the remotest Bounds of the West; and not content therewith, would be for examining where the glorious Body of the Sun hid it self; but even as you are, your Ambition attempts what you are not capable of. You pass out of Europe into Asia, and from Asia you return again to Europe; and when you have overcome all Mankind, rather than be quiet, you'll quarrel with the Woods and the Mountains, the Rivers and wild Beasts.*

Beasts. Can you be ignorant, that large Trees are a long Time a growing, tho' an Hour be sufficient to cut them down? He is a Fool that coveteth their Fruit, without duly considering their height. Take heed that while you strive to climb up to the Top, you do not fall headlong with those Branches you have grasp'd. A Lion has some time been the Prey of the smallest Birds; and Iron it self is consum'd by Rust. In fine, there is nothing so firm and strong, but is in Danger of perishing by what is weaker. What have you to do with us? We never so much as set foot in your Countrey. Shall not we who pass our Lives in the Woods, be allow'd to be ignorant who you are, and whence you come? Know that as we are not greedy of Empire, so neither can we submit to be Slaves. Now that you may be sensible what sort of People the Scythians are, Heaven has presented us with a Yoke of Oxen, a Plough, an Arrow, and a Bowl; these things we either communicate with our Friends, or make use of 'em to defend our selves against our Enemies: We impart to our Friends the Corn which is produc'd by the Labour of the Oxen, and with them also we sacrifice to the Gods out of the Bowl: Our Arrows serve us against our Enemies at a distance, and we use our Spears in a closer Engagement. By these means we overcame the King of Syria, and since, the Kings of Persia, and of the Medes, and open'd our selves a Way even into Egypt. And whereas you are pleas'd to give out, that you come to punish Thieves and Robbers; it is plain you have play'd the Part of a Robber in all the Nations you have yet invaded. You seiz'd Lydia, made your self Master of Syria, and are in present Possession also of Persia; the Bactrians are in your Power, and you have penetrated into India; and after all this, you cannot be satisfy'd, unless you extend your ravenous Hands to our harmless Flocks. What Occasion have you for Riches,

Riches, since they only serve to encrease your Appetite ? You are the first who by Satiety sharpen your Hunger, as if all your Acquisitions only serv'd to make you thirst after what you have not. Don't you reflect how long the Bactrians have employ'd you ? And that while they kept you in Play, the Sogdians rebell'd : So that your very Victories seem to afford you fresh matter of War. Now admitting that you are greater and stronger than any, yet you ought to consider, that no Body can endure long a foreign Government. Do but pass the Tanais, and you may indeed learn the Extent of our Countrey, but can never hope to overtake the Scythians ; our Poverty will still be too nimble for your Army that is laden with the Spoils of so many Nations. Again, when you think us the farthest from you, you shall find us within your Camp. We are equally swift either to fly or pursue. I am inform'd, that our Desarts and Wastes, are become Proverbs of Scorn among the Greeks. But for our parts, we make choice of Wilds, and those Places that are void of human Culture rather than of Cities and fruitful Soils. Hold therefore your Fortune as close as you can, for she is slippery and will not be held against her Will. Wholsome Advice is better discover'd by the Consequences than the present. Put a Curb therefore to your Prosperity, and you'll govern it the better. We have a Saying amongst us, That Fortune is without Feet, and has only Hands and Wings, and that when she reaches out her Hands, she will not suffer her Wings to be touch'd. To be short, if you are a God, you ought to be beneficent to Mortals, and not deprive 'em of what they have ; and if you are a Man, always remember your self to be what you are. It is Folly to be mindful of those things which make you forget your self. You may make good use of the Friendship of those you do not exasperate by War : for the firmest Union is amongst
 Equals ;

Equals ; and those seem to be Equals, who have not yet try'd their Strength. Do not imagine those you conquer, can be your Friends ; there's no Friendship between the Sovereign and the Slave, for even in time of Peace, the Decrees of War do still obtain. The Scythians in their Alliances, do not make use of Oaths to ratify the same, but their Integrity answers all the Ends of Oaths. It is a Precaution of the Greeks indeed, to confirm their Transactions with the Invocation of the Gods ; but as for our selves, we make it part of our Religion faithfully to observe our Promises. They who have no Reverence for Men, will not scruple to deceive the Gods themselves. Besides, you have no Occasion for Friends, of whose Benevolence you doubt now. In us you will have incorruptible Guardians both of Asia and Europe : There is only the Tanais between us and Bactriana ; and beyond the Tanais, we extend our selves as far as Thrace, and Thrace is said to border upon Macedonia. Thus you see we are your Neighbours in both your Empires. Consider therefore, whether you will have us for your Friends or your Enemies.

C H A P. IX.

THE Barbarian having finish'd his Speech, the King made him this Answer ; *That he would depend upon his own Fortune, and the Counsel of his Friends : On his Fortune, because he had Confidence in it ; and he would consult the Opinion of his Friends, that he might undertake nothing rashly, and with too great a Confidence of Success. After which, he dismiss'd the Ambassadors, and imbarck'd his Army on the Boats he had prepar'd for that purpose. In the fore-part of the Boats, he plac'd those who*
had

had Bucklers, commanding them *to kneel down that they might be less expos'd to the Enemies Arrows.* Next to these were the Directors of the *Machines*, having on each side of them, as well as before, Soldiers compleatly arm'd. The rest standing behind the Engines, form'd a Tortoise with their Bucklers, and so protected the Rowers, who had also Armour on. The same Disposition was observ'd in those Boats that transported the Horse, of whom the major part held their Horses by the Reins of their Bridles, and so drew them along swimming at the Stern; as for them that were carry'd over on Skins stuff'd with Straw, they were shelter'd by the flote Boats.

The *King*, with such as he had chosen to accompany *him*, put off first, and directed his Course to the other side of the River, where the *Scythians* had drawn up some Horse along the Bank to oppose his landing; but besides the appearance of an Army on the Shore, the *Macedonians* met with another Danger in their Passage; for they that steer'd the Boats were not able to maintain their Course cross the River, by reason of the rapidity of its Current; and the Soldiers tottering up and down, and apprehensive of being cast over board, disturb'd the Watermen in their Business. In this Condition it was impossible for them to deliver their Darts with any force, being more solicitous how to stand securely, than to attack the Enemy. It is true, their Engines did them great Service, seldom failing to do Execution, the Enemy standing thick upon the Shore, and rashly exposing themselves. The *Barbarians* also on their side, poured in Clouds of Arrows amongst the Boats, so that there was hardly a Buckler that had not several Heads sticking in it. At length the Boats began to gain the Land, and those that were arm'd with Shields, rising all at one Motion, cast their

their Darts with a more certain Aim, as having greater Liberty and surer Footing. Thus the *Scythian* Horse being terrify'd and forc'd to give back, the *Macedonians* encouraging each other, leap'd out of their Boats, and with great Alacrity and Fury, bore down upon the Enemy already in Confusion. By this time *Alexander's* Horse had form'd themselves into Troops, and broke in also upon the *Barbarians* disorder'd Ranks. While these things were doing, the rest of the *Macedonian* Army being cover'd by those that were engag'd, had time to prepare likewise for Battel. The King supply'd the Weakness of *his* Body with the Vigor of *his* Mind; and although *his* Voice was not yet strong enough to make *his* Encouragement heard, (*his* Wound not being quite heal'd) yet the the whole Army could see how gallantly *he* fought. This made 'em all discharge the Generals part, and animate each other with so good an Effect, that they fell furiously on the Enemy, regardless of their own Safety. Whereupon the *Scythians* no longer able to sustain the Arms, Shouts, and Countenance of the *Macedonian* Army, clapp'd Spurs to their Horses and made the best of their Way. The King (notwithstanding *his* infirm Body could not yet endure any great Fatigue) pursu'd the Enemy for the Space of fourscore Furlongs; then finding *himself* faint, *he* order'd *his* Men to continue their Pursuit as long as they had Day Light; after which, *he* repair'd to *his* Camp, expecting the Return of *his* Troops.

They had already pass'd the Bounds of *Bacchus*, in Commemoration of whom there were a great many Stones erected at a distance from each other, and several tall Trees, whose Boles were cover'd over with Ivy. But the *Macedonians* Rage carry'd them still farther, so that they did not return to the Camp till Midnight. They kill'd a great many,
took

took several Prisoners, and brought away eighteen hundred Horses. In this Action the *Macedonians* lost sixty Troopers, and almost one hundred Foot, and had one thousand wounded. This seasonable Victory settled the Minds of the *Asiatics* (who were at this time wavering) for they look'd upon the *Scythians* to be invincible, and finding them defeated too, they concluded, *no Nation was able to withstand the Macedonian Power.*

The *Saca* hereupon sent Ambassadors to *Alexander*, to assure him, *that their Nation submitted to him.* They were mov'd to this, not only by the King's Bravery, but also by *his* Clemency towards the *Scythians*, to whom he sent back all their Prisoners without Ransom, that that fierce Nation might be sensible *he* did not fight with 'em out of Hatred or Anger, but for Reputation and Glory. Having therefore receiv'd the *Sacan's* Ambassadors graciously, *he* gave them *Excipinus* for a Companion home; who being in the Flower of his Youth, was very much in *Alexander's* Favour; but altho' he was as handsome in Person as *Hephestion*, yet he was far from having his agreeable Wit.

Then the King leaving the major Part of the Army under the Command of *Craterus*, with Orders *to follow him at easie Marches*, went himself with the rest to *Maracanda*. *Spitamenes* being inform'd of his Approach, left that City and fled to *Bactra*. *Alexander* therefore having travel'd a great deal of Ground in four Days, came at last to the Place where *Menedemus* had lost the two thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse, whose Bones *he* order'd to be bury'd with the usual Rites of their Countrey. Here *Craterus*, who had been commanded to follow, join'd the King. That therefore he might chastise at once all those who had revolted from *him*, *he* divided his Army into several

veral Bodies, and order'd them to burn the Countrey, and kill all that were able to bear Arms.

C H A P. X.

THE Countrey of *Sogdiana*, is for the most part a Desert; the Wilds and Wastes taking up almost eight hundred Furlongs in Breadth. It is of a vast Extent in Length, and is water'd by a River call'd by the Inhabitants *Polytimetus*, which runs with a rapid Stream. This River is confin'd within a narrow Channel, and is at last receiv'd into a subterranean Cavity. The Noise it makes, as it passes under Ground, is a sufficient Indication of its hidden Course; yet the Territory under which this considerable River runs, shews no sign of it from the least Evaporation of Water, thro' any Part of its Passage.

Among the captive *Sogdians*, there were thirty of the chiefest Nobility of the Countrey, who were remarkable for their prodigious Strength of Body. These being brought before the King, and understanding by the Interpreter, that *his Majesty* had order'd 'em to be executed, they began to sing and dance, and by other wanton Motions of their Body endeavoured to express the Chearfulness of their Mind. *Alexander* being amaz'd at their unusual Alacrity on such an Occasion, commanded 'em to be brought back, and ask'd 'em the Cause of their excessive Joy, when they beheld death before their Eyes. To which they answer'd; That if any other than himself had sentenced them to die, they should have been concern'd; but since they were to be restor'd to their Ancestors by so great a King who had conquer'd all the World; they look'd upon their Death to be so honourable, as even to deserve the Envy of all

all brave Men, which made them so transported when they understood his Pleasure. The King then ask'd them, if they would be his Friends hereafter, if he should give them their Lives? They reply'd, That they had never been his Enemies, but had only defended themselves when they were attack'd in a hostile manner by him. And that if any Body would make Trial of them, by good Offices, instead of Injuries, they would willingly contend in the generous Strife, and use their utmost Endeavours not to be overcome. He asking them afterwards, What Pledge they would give him for their Fidelity? They answer'd, Their Lives, which they receiv'd through his Bounty, and which they would at all Times be ready to restore to him, whenever he requir'd 'em. Nor were they worse than their Words. For those of 'em, who were sent home, kept their Countrey People in due Subjection to Alexander; and four of them being receiv'd into his Body Guards, were inferior to none of the Macedonians in their sincere Affection to the King. Alexander having left Peucolaus among the Sogdians with a Garrison of three thousand Men, he march'd to Bactra, from whence he commanded Bessus to be conducted to Ecabatana, there to suffer Death for murdering Darius.

About the same time Ptolemy and Menidas brought him three thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse, to serve in the War as Mercenaries. Alexander likewise came to him with the same Number of Foot, and five hundred Horse, out of Lycia. The like Number had follow'd Asclepiadorus from Syria. Antipater had also sent eight thousand Greeks, amongst whom were five hundred Horse.

Being therefore reinforc'd by these Recruits, he proceeded to compose the Disturbances in the revolted Provinces; and having put to Death the Promoters, he came the fourth Day to the River

Oxus.

Oxus. This River, by reason of the Mud it carries along with its Stream, is always turbid and unwholesome to drink. The Soldiers therefore fell to sinking of Wells, and notwithstanding they had dug a great way into the Ground, could find no Water. At last there was a Spring found in the *King's* Tent, which because it was discover'd but late, they imagin'd it sprung up on the sudden, and the *King* himself was not against its being thought a present from Heaven.

Having afterwards pass'd the Rivers *Ochus* and *Oxus*, he came to a Town call'd *Marginia*, near to which he made choice of Places to build six Cities in. Two of them were to be towards the South, and four towards the East. They were to stand at a moderate Distance from each other, that neither might have far to seek for Succour upon Occasion. They were all built upon pretty high Eminences, and intended as so many Curbs to the conquer'd Nations ; but having now forgot their Origin, they are subject to those whom they formerly commanded.

C H A P. XI.


ALL Troubles were now quieted ; there was only one Rock which *Arinazes* a *Sogdian*, had possess'd himself of, with thirty thousand Men all arm'd, having provided it with all manner of Necessaries for so great a Multitude for two Years. The Rock is thirty Furlongs in Highth, and one hundred and fifty in Circumference, being on all sides steep and craggy, and is accessible only by a very narrow Path. In the Midway to the Top, it has a Cave whose Entrance is strait and dark, but by degrees grows wider, and farther on, has large Recesses. This Cave was full of Springs,

whose Waters being united as they run down the Rock, form a River. The King having consider'd the Difficulty of the Enterprize, had resolv'd to leave it; but afterwards was seiz'd with a violent Desire to get the better even of Nature. However, before he undertook the Siege thereof, he sent *Cophas*, *Artabaxus's* Son, to endeavour to persuade the Barbarians to surrender the Rock. But *Arimazes* confiding in the Strength of the Place, gave very haughty Answers, and at last, ask'd, *Whether Alexander could fly?* Which being related to the King, so inflam'd his Anger, that having call'd a Council, he communicated to it, *how insolent the Barbarians were to them, because they had no Wings.* Yet he did not doubt, he said, *but by the next Night, to convince 'em, that the Macedonians could upon Occasion fly.* And therefore order'd 'em to bring him three hundred of the nimblest and most active young Men they each had in their respective Troops, and such as had been accusom'd at home to drive Sheep amongst the Rocks, and almost impassable Ways in the Mountains. Accordingly they brought him such as excell'd the rest, both in Agility and Lightness of Body, as well as in Boldness and Courage. Whom the King beholding, said, *It is with you, generous Youths, who are of my own Age, that I have taken Towns which were before thought impregnable, and pass'd over the Tops of those Hills which are continually cover'd with Snow; with you I enter'd the Straits of Cilicia, and endur'd without Weariness the violent Colds of India. I have given you Proof of my self, and have had it of you. The Rock you see has but one way to it, which is guarded by the Barbarians, the rest of it is neglected by 'em. They keep no Watch but towards our Camp. If you seek diligently, you will not fail of finding some way or other that will bring you to the Top. There is nothing so inaccessible by Nature, but your Vertue will make*
some

some shift or other to get to it. It is by undertaking what others despair'd of that we have Asia in our Power, work therefore your way up to the top of the Hill, and when you have made your selves Masters of it, hang out white Clothes for a signal to me; and I shall then take care to advance towards the Enemy, and by a powerful Diversion hinder their falling upon you : The first that gets up shall have ten Talents for his Reward, the next shall have one less, and so downward in the same Proportion for ten. I am very certain, that it is not so much my Liberality as the Satisfaction to please me, that you will look at in this bold Attempt. They heard the King's Speech with so much alacrity, that one would have thought they had already gain'd the top of the Mountain, and being dismiss'd they provided themselves with Wedges to fix in the Clefts of the Rock, and also with strong Ropes. The King rid round the Rock with them, and order'd 'em to set about their Work at the second Watch, beginning where the Rock was most practicable, and wish'd the Gods to favour their Undertaking : They having furnish'd themselves with Provisions for two Days, and arm'd only with their Swords and Spears, set forwards without any great difficulty at first, but when they came to the steep part, some laid hold of the broken Craggs to lift themselves up ; others made use of Ropes with sliding Knots, having fix'd their Wedges in the Clefts to shift their Footing. Thus they spent the whole Day in Fear and Labour, and having surmounted great Difficulties, there remain'd still greater to overcome, and the Rock seem'd to grow in highth. It was a dismal Spectacle to behold those whose footing fail'd them, tumbling headlong down the Precipice, and by their Example shewing others what they were to expect. All these Difficulties notwithstanding, they made

a shift to get up to the top, being all very much fatigu'd with the continual Labour; some were hurt and maim'd in their Limbs, yet were with the rest surpriz'd with the Night and Sleep. However, dispersing themselves up and down, they laid their wearied Bodies upon the rough craggy Stones, altogether unmindful of the present Danger, and slept till it was light. At last they awak'd out of their profound Sleep, and looking curiously about to discover where so great a Number of People could hide themselves, they perceiv'd some smoke beneath 'em, which detected the Place of their Retreat. They therefore, according to their Orders, erected the Signal agreed upon, and found that of their whole Number there were missing thirty two. The *King* being no less desirous to make himself Master of the Place, than solicitous for those *he* had expos'd to manifest Danger, stood all Day gazing at the top of the Hill, and did not depart to take his natural rest, till the darkness of the Night hinder'd all Prospect of the Eyes. The next Day early in the Morning *he* first perceiv'd the white Clothes, which were the Signal that his Men had gain'd the top. However, *he* was uncertain whether his Eyes did not deceive him; by reason of the variety of the Light of the rising Sun, which sometimes shin'd out, and sometimes was hid in a Cloud; but the clearer Light put it beyond all doubt. He therefore call'd for *Cophas* (whom he had sent before to the *Barbarians*) and dispatch'd *him* to them again, to try to bring *them* to a safer Resolution; and if he found they persisted in their Obstinacy (relying on the strength of the Place) *he* commanded him, to shew *them* his Soldiers who had taken Possession of the top of the Mountain. *Cophas* being admitted, did all he could to persuade *Arimazes* to surrender the Rock, assuring him, *he* would very much ingratiate him-
self

self with the King, if he did not (by the Siege of a single Rock) stop *him* in the Career of his nobler Designs. The *Barbarians* were now more insolent than before, and commanded *Cophas* to be gone. Then *Cophas* taking *Arimazes* by the Hand, desir'd him to go out of the Cave with him, which having obtain'd, he shew'd him those who were in Possession of the top of the Rock; and by way of ridicule told him, That *Alexander's Soldiers had Wings*. At the same time the Trumpets were sounding in the *Macedonian's* Camp, and the Soldiers fill'd the Air with their Shouts and joyful Conclamations. This (as it often happens in War, where trivial Accidents have many times great Influence) made the *Barbarians* resolve to surrender; for, being seiz'd with Fear, they could not make an Estimate of the small Number of those who were behind them. They therefore call'd back *Cophas* in all haste, and sent along with him thirty of the most considerable amongst them, to deliver up the Rock if they might retire with their Lives; but the King was so incens'd at *Arimazes* his haughty Answers, that notwithstanding *he* very much dreaded lest the *Barbarians*, discovering the small Number of those above, should cast them headlong down the Precipice, and so frustrate his Attempt; yet confiding at the same time in his Fortune, he deny'd them any manner of Conditions. Here-upon *Arimazes* (being more afraid than hurt) descended into the Camp with his Relations, and the chiefeſt Men of the Nation; all whom *Alexander* caus'd to be whip'd first, and then crucify'd at the foot of the Rock. The rest of the Multitude were given to the Inhabitants of the new Towns, as also what Money was found amongst them; and *Artabazus* was appointed Governour of the Rock, and the adjacent Countrey round it.



QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK VIII.

CHAP. I.



*A*lexander having made himself Master of the Rock with greater Fame than real Glory, observing *his* Enemies were dispers'd here and there, divided *his* Army into three Bodies ; *Hephastion* had the command of the one, *Cœnon* of the other, and *he himself* led the third. However, *his* Enemies were not all of the same Mind, for some were subdu'd by force of Arms, tho' the greater Number submitted without risking an Engagement : To these *he* therefore distributed the Towns and Lands of those who persisted obstinately in their Rebellion ; but the banish'd *Bactrians*, with eight hundred *Massagetan* Horse, plunder'd the neighbouring Villages, and *Attinas* (who was Governor of that Province) march'd out with three hundred Horse to suppress these Disorders, not dreaming in the least of the Mischief that was prepar'd him ; for the Enemy had plac'd a Body of Soldiers in the Woods that are contiguous to the Plains, leaving
some

some few only to drive before them Flocks of Sheep, that the desire of the Booty might entice him into the *Ambuscade* they had laid for him ; accordingly *Attinas* no sooner discover'd the same, but he made all the haste he could to secure his Prey, without observing the least Order ; so that he was no sooner pass'd thro' the Wood, than they who lay in Ambuscade fell upon him at unawares, and kill'd him and all his Men. This disaster quickly came to *Craterus's* Ears, who immediately repair'd thither with all his Horse, but the *Masagatae* were already fled ; however, he slew a thousand of the *Dahæ*, by whose defeat the Rebellion was quell'd throughout all the Countrey.

Alexander likewise having again subdu'd the *Sogdians*, return'd to *Maracanda*. Here *Berdes* (whom he had sent to the *Scythians* who inhabit the Countrey near the *Bosphorus*) came to him with the Ambassadors of that Nation. *Phrathernes* also (who had the Government of the *Chorasmians*, who border'd on the *Massagetae* and the *Dahæ*) sent Messengers to acquaint him, he submitted himself to his royal Will and Pleasure. The *Scythians* desir'd, That he would marry the Daughter of their King, but if he did not approve of the Alliance, at least that he would permit the Macedonian Nobility to intermarry with the most considerable Persons of their Nation ; they assur'd him also, that their King would come in Person and pay him a Visit.

Alexander receiv'd both these Embassys very graciously, and remain'd encamp'd in the same Place till he was join'd by *Hephestion* and *Artabazus*, after which he march'd into the Countrey call'd *Bazaria*.

The chiefest marks of the barbarous Opulency of this Nation consist in having large Herds of wild Beasts, shut up in great Forests and Woods.

well supply'd with perennial Springs, which render them very delightful. These Forests are inclos'd with Walls, and have Towers also for the Reception of the Hunters; among the rest of these immur'd Woods, there was one which had not been hunted in for the space of four Ages, which *Alexander* enter'd with *his* whole Army, giving Orders to *hunt and destroy all the Game they could*. Among the rest there was a Lyon of an unusual size, which made towards the King, and *Lyfimachus* (who reign'd afterwards) being next to *Alexander*, and observing the Danger *he* was in, began to put himself into a posture to receive the Beast with his hunting Spear; but *Alexander* refus'd his Assistance, and commanded him to be gone, adding, *That he was as able to kill a Lyon single as Lyfimachus*. We must here take notice, that *Lyfimachus* had formerly (as he was hunting in *Syria*) kill'd a very large Lyon single, but endanger'd his Life in the Action, it having torn his left Shoulder to the Bone: This made the King upbraid him as he did, and at the same time behave himself with more bravery than he had spoke; for *he* not only receiv'd the Beast with an undaunted Courage, but also kill'd it with one stroke. I am apt to believe *the fabulous Account of Lyfimachus being expos'd to a Lyon by Alexander's command*, had its rise from this Accident which we have mentioned.

However, notwithstanding the King succeeded so well in this bold Attempt, yet the *Macedonians*, according to the Custom of their Countrey, made an Ordinance, *That for the future the King should not hunt any more on Foot, nor without being attended by the chiefest of his Nobility and Friends*. *Alexander* having kill'd four thousand wild Beasts in this Wood, feasted his whole Army there; after which he return'd to *Maracanda*, where, upon

on *Artabazus* his excusing himself on the Account of his old Age, *he* bestow'd his Government on *Clitus*. This was he who at the River *Granicus*, when *Alexander* was fighting bare-headed, cover'd him with his Buckler, and cut off *Rhofaces's* Hand, as he was ready to discharge a great blow on the King's Head. He had serv'd a long time under *Philip*, and was remarkable for a great many noble Exploits during the War. His Sister *Hellanice* had nurs'd *Alexander*, and was no less belov'd by him on that score than his own Mother; this made him commit to his Care and Trust, the bravest and most warlike Province of his Empire. He therefore order'd him *to be ready to set out the Day following, to take upon him his new Commission*, and invited him to assist at the solemn Feast *he* gave his Friends that Night. During the Entertainment the King being heated with Wine, and an immoderate extoller of his own Performances, began to enlarge upon the great Things he had done, to such a degree as to be troublesome to the Ears even of them who were sensible of the Truth of what *he* said. The eldest amongst 'em nevertheless heard him with an attentive silence, till *he* began to disparage *Philip's* Atchievements, and boast that the celebrated Victory near *Chæronea*, was owing to himself; and that *he* was depriv'd of the Glory of it thro' his Father's Malice and Envy, whom (in the Sedition that arose between the Macedonians and the mercenary Greeks, when he counterfeited being dead of the wound he receiv'd therein) he protected with his Buckler, killing with his own Hand those who offer'd to insult him: Yet his Father was never willing to acknowledge this piece of Service, as being loath to confess he ow'd his Life to his Son. That therefore after his Expedition against the Illyrians, *he* writ to his Father that the Enemy was vanquish'd without *Philip's* Assistance. Those *he*

said deserv'd Commendation who did not stop at the Borders of Samothracia, when Asia ought to be burnt and laid waste, but who by their great Actions surpaß'd all belief.

These and the like Sayings were grateful enough to the young Men, but the Seniors did not at all like 'em, especially on *Philip's* Account, under whom they had serv'd a longer time than under *him*. Hereupon *Clitus*, who was not very sober himself, turning to those who sat below him, recited some Verses out of *Euripides*, yet after such a manner that the sound was rather heard than the Words distinguish'd by the King. They were to this effect, *That it was an ill Custom among the Greeks to inscribe only the Names of their Kings on the Trophies; by which means they run away with the Glory that was acquir'd by other People's Blood.* The King therefore suspecting what he said had something malicious in it, ask'd those who were next him, *What Clitus had said?* But as they remain'd silent, *Clitus* began to speak in a lower Tone of *Philip's Actions*, and concerning the Wars in Greece, preferring them to what was now done. This caus'd a Dispute between the young Men and the Veterans, yet the King seem'd patiently to hear *Clitus's* Allegations (whereby he endeavour'd to lessen his Praise) tho' at the same time he was inwardly inrag'd; notwithstanding which *he* appear'd inclin'd to bridle his Passion, if *Clitus* would have let drop his indiscreet Discourse; but finding he still ran on, after the same manner, it exasperated him very much. *Clitus* at last proceeded to that degree of Insolence as to dare to defend *Parmenio*, and preferr'd *Philip's* Victory over the *Athenians*, to the Destruction of *Thebes*, and seem'd to be now prompted by a spiteful disposition of Mind to Contention, as well as by the Wine; so that he did not scruple to say,

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If it be requisite to die for you, Clitus is sure to be the first in your Thoughts ; but those shall reap the greatest Rewards of your Victories, who after the most shameful manner insult your Father's Memory. You have bestow'd on me the Countrey of Sogdiana, which has so often rebell'd, and is still not only unsubdu'd, but impossible to be brought under Subjection, that is to say, I am sent amongst wild Beasts, headstrong and rash by Nature. However, I shall waive what relates to my self, and take notice of your Contempt for Philip's Soldiers, while you forget, that if it had not been for old Atharias here present (who rallied the young Men, and brought 'em back to the Fight they had declin'd) we might have been still before Halicarnassus. How then can you be said to have conquer'd Asia with this Youth? As for my part, I believe what your Unkle said in Italy to be true, that he had to do with Men, and you with Women. Of all the rash and indiscreet things utter'd by Clitus, nothing more provok'd the King than the honourable mention he made of Parmenio ; yet for all that, he suppress'd his Grief, and was contented to bid him be gone from the Feast, without adding any thing more than that if he had continu'd to talk on, he suppos'd he would have upbraided him with the having sav'd his Life, which was a thing he would often brag of with too much Vanity. But as Clitus made no haste to obey the King's Orders, they who were next to him laid hold of him, and endeavour'd to carry him off, blaming him, and at the same time reminding him of his Duty. When Clitus found they were taking him away by force, Anger mingling it self with his excess of Wine, he cry'd out, That it was his Breast that had defended the King's Back, but the time of so signal a Service being elaps'd, the memory of it was become odious. He also reproach'd him with the Death of Attalus, and at last ri-

diculing the Oracle of *Jupiter*, whom *Alexander* claim'd as his Father, he said *he told him greater Truths than his Parent*. By this time the King's Anger was so increas'd, that had *he* been perfectly sober *he* could hardiy have govern'd it; *he* therefore leap'd on the sudden from the Table, to the great Amazement of his Friends, who thereupon did not take time to set down their Cups, but cast them away, expecting what would be the issue of so furious a Transport: And *Alexander* laying hold of the Spear of one of the Guards, was for killing *Clitus* (who still continu'd talking with the same Intemperance of Tongue as before) had he not been held by *Ptolemy* and *Perdiccas*, and as he persisted to struggle with them, *Lysimachus* and *Leonnatus* took the Lance from him. This made *Alexander* implore the Assistance of his Soldiers, and cry out, *That he was seiz'd (as Darius had been) by his most intimate Friends, and commanded the Signal to be given for them to repair to his Palace with their Arms*. At these Words *Ptolemy* and *Perdiccas* cast themselves at his Feet, and begg'd *he would moderate his Anger, and give himself time to reflect*, since he might the next Day execute with a greater regard to Justice, what the Nature of the Thing should require; but *his Anger* had shut his Ears to all Counsel, so that in *his* rage *he* run to the Porch of the Palace, and taking a Spear from the Centinel that was there upon Duty, *he* plac'd *himself* in the entry thro' which those who had supp'd with *him* were oblig'd to pass. Now all the rest being gone, *Clitus* came last of all without any Light, and the King ask'd, who he was? But after such a manner as sufficiently declar'd the Cruelty of *his* Intention. *Clitus*, who was no longer mindful of his own Passion, but only of the King's, made answer, *That it was Clitus, who was retiring from*
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the Banquet ; as he spoke these Words *Alexander* run him through, and all besmear'd with his Blood said to him, *Get thee gone to Philip, Parmenio and Attalus.*

C H A P. II.

THE Mind of Man is in this but indifferently provided for by Nature, that he for the most part does not so much reflect on the Consequences of Things till they are transacted. Thus the *King* when *his* Anger was over, and the heat of *his* Wine abated, too late perceiv'd the Enormity of his Crime. Then *he* saw *he* had kill'd a Man who indeed had taken too great a Liberty with his Tongue, but at the same time was very deserving on the Account of his Bravery, and who if he was not asham'd to own the Truth, had sav'd *his* Life ; *he* now reflected how unworthily *he* had sully'd the Splendor of the Royal Dignity, by discharging in Person the odious Office of an Executioner, and that *he* had by an abominable Murther cruelly punish'd the liberty of a few licentious Words, which might reasonably have been imputed to the Wine. *He* with horror beheld the Entry of *his* Palace stain'd with the Blood of a Person, who but a little before had been thought worthy to sup with *him*. The Guards in the fright they were in stood like Men stupify'd at a distance, so that *his* solitude afforded *him* a greater freedom to repent of what *he* had done. *He* therefore drew the Spear out of the dead Body that lay extended on the Floor, and would have plung'd it into *his* own, had not the Guards flown in to *his* Assistance, and wrested it out of *his* Hands, and carry'd *him* into *his* Tent ; here *he* flung himself on the Ground,
and

and fill'd the Place with his Lamentations and Cries. Then finding he could do nothing else, he tore his Face with his Nails, and intreated the standers by, *not to let him survive so shameful an Action.* After this manner he spent the whole Night, and as he was examining himself, *Whether he had done any thing to deserve the Deity's Anger to that degree as to be abandon'd to the Commission of so foul a Crime?* He recollected, *That the anniversary Sacrifice to Bacchus, had not been perform'd at the time appointed for that purpose:* He therefore concluded, *That the Murther he had committed in his Wine and good Cheer, was a manifest discovery of the Anger of that God.* But what most griev'd him was to see all his Friends stand like Men stupify'd, and that none of 'em would for the future dare to converse with him; so that he should for the future be forc'd to live like the wild Beasts, which are sometimes a Terror to others, and sometimes afraid themselves.

As soon as it was Day he order'd the Corps, all bloody as it was, to be brought into his Tent, and when it was plac'd before him, he with Tears in his Eyes said, *Is this the grateful return I make my Nurse, whose two Sons lost their Lives for my Glory at Miletum? This Brother was the only Comfort she had left, and I have barbarously murther'd him at my own Table: What will this unfortunate Woman do? Of all that belong'd to her, I am the only left, whom alone she for the future will never be able to see with any Satisfaction.* How wretched is my Fate, that I must thus shew my self the Butcher of those who have preserv'd my Life! How can I think of returning to my own Countrey, where I shall not be able to hold out my right Hand to my Nurse without refreshing her Memory with the cause of her Calamity? His Friends finding there was no end of his Tears and Complaints, order'd the Body

dy to be taken away ; notwithstanding which he remain'd three Days shut up, bewailing himself after this manner, till at last the Guards of *his* Person (perceiving he was determin'd to dye) broke into his Chamber all together, and with much ado prevail'd with him to eat ; and that the King might have the less Confusion for what *he* had done, the *Macedonians* resolv'd, That *Clitus* was justly kill'd, and were for depriving him of the Honour of Sepulture had not the King order'd him to be bury'd.

Having therefore staid ten Days at *Maracanda*, to re-assume his Modesty, he sent *Hephestion* with part of the Army into *Bactriana*, to lay up Provisions for the Winter, and gave to *Amyntas* that Province which he had before bestow'd on *Clitus* ; after which *he* came to *Xenippa*, which is a Countrey bordering on *Scythia*, and is full of Towns and Villages, the Soil thereof being so fruitful, that it not only detains those who are born there, but also invites Strangers to come and settle there. The banish'd *Bactrians*, who had revolted from *Alexander*, were retir'd hither ; but upon certain Advice of the King's coming, they were expell'd by the Inhabitants, so that about two thousand two hundred of them were got together in a Body : They were all Horse, and accusom'd, even in time of Peace, to live by Rapine and Theft ; but their fierce Natures were by the War, and despair of being forgiven, render'd still more brutish. They therefore unexpectedly attack'd *Amyntas*, *Alexander's* Prætor, and the Victory was doubtful for a considerable time, till at last having lost seven hundred of their Men (of which three hundred were taken Prisoners by the Enemy) they fled ; they were not altogether unreveng'd, for they kill'd fourscore of the *Macedonians*, and wounded about three hundred and fifty,

fifty. However, tho' this was the second time they had rebell'd, they obtain'd their Pardon.

The *King* having taken them into his Protection, came with his whole Army into a Countrey call'd *Naura*; *Sisimithres*, who was Governor thereof, had two Sons by his own Mother, (for amongst them it is lawful for Parents to have carnal Knowledge of their Children) he had with two thousand of the Militia, built a strong Wall at the narrow entrance into the Countrey, before which there run a rapid River; the back part was secur'd by a Rock, thro' which the Inhabitants had made a Way by dint of Labour. The entry into this hollow Way is lightsome, but farther on it is dark, unless some artificial light be made use of; this hidden Passage runs quite thro' the Rock into the Plains, and is only known to the Inhabitants.

But *Alexander* (notwithstanding the *Barbarians* guarded this Place, which was so strong both by its natural Situation and Art) with his battering Rams, quickly beat down these manual Fortifications, and with Slings and Arrows, drove away those that defended them; then passing over the ruin'd Works, *he* brought his Army to the Rock, which was strengthen'd by a River that run before it, and was form'd by the united Streams that fell from the Top of it into the Valley. It seem'd to be a vast Undertaking to fill up so deep and large a Channel. However, he order'd Trees to be cut down, and great Heaps of Stones to be brought thither. The *Barbarians*, who were altogether unacquainted with such sort of Works, were seiz'd with the utmost Horror, when they saw so vast a Pile erected in so little Time. Hereupon the *King* imagining they might be brought to a Surrender thro' Fear, sent *Oxartes* (who was of the same Nation, but in *his* Interest) to them, to persuade the Governor

vernor to deliver up the Rock. In the mean time, to augment their Terror, he order'd the Towers to be advanc'd, and caus'd several Engines to play upon 'em at that distance; which had so good an Effect, that the *Barbarians* not thinking themselves secure any other way, betook themselves to the Top of the Rock. *Oxartes* therefore press'd *Sysimithres* (who now began to distrust his Affairs) to fling himself on the Honour of the Macedonians, rather than withstand their Power; advising him not to stop the Career of a victorious Army that was marching into India; and which, whoever should dare to oppose, would only bring others Calamities on their own Heads. As for *Sysimithres*, he was not against surrendring; but his Mother (who was also his Wife) declar'd she would suffer Death, rather than submit to the Power of any Enemy, and so put the *Barbarian* upon more honourable than safe Measures; he being asham'd that Women should set a greater Value upon Liberty than Men. He therefore dismiss'd the Messenger of Peace, and resolv'd to undergo the Siege. But then upon due weighing of his own and the Enemies Strength, he began to repent again, for having hearken'd to a Woman's Counsel, which was rather rash than suitable to the present Juncture of Affairs. Wherefore he immediately call'd back *Oxartes*, and told him, he would lay himself at the King's Mercy, and begg'd of him, not to say any thing of his Mother's Obstinacy, that her Pardon might also be more easily obtain'd. As soon as he had dispatch'd *Oxartes* with this his Resolution, he follow'd himself, with his Mother and Children, and a great Crowd of his Relations, without so much as waiting for any farther Security from the King, though *Oxartes* had also promis'd him that *Alexander* being inform'd of this, sent a Trooper to order them to go back, and expect his coming;

coming; where he no sooner arriv'd, than he offer'd Sacrifice to *Minerva* and *Victory*, and then confirm'd *Sysimithres* in his Authority, promising to enlarge his Province, if he remain'd faithful to him. He had two Sons which he deliver'd up to the King, who order'd them to follow him in his Wars.

Alexander leaving here his *Phalanx*, advanc'd with his Cavalry to subdue the Rebels. The Way was rough and craggy; however, they endur'd it pretty well at first, but after some time, the Horses Hoofs were not only worn away, but their Bodies also tir'd; besides which, the Riders themselves were so harrafs'd with the immoderate Labour, that a great many were not able to keep up with him, so that the Troops began to grow thin, the extraordinary Fatigue overcoming the Shame they had to be left behind. Nevertheless, as the King chang'd Horses frequently, he continu'd pursuing the flying Enemy; but the young Noblemen who us'd to accompany him, were all forc'd to give out, except *Philip*, who was *Lyfimachus's* Brother, and was then in the Flower of his Age, and as it plainly appear'd, a Person of a Genius capable of the greatest Things. This Youth (which will hardly be believ'd) tho' on Foot, kept up with the King (who was on Horseback) for the Space of five hundred Furlongs. *Lyfimachus* offer'd him his Horse several Times, but nothing could prevail with him to leave the King; tho' at the same time he was loaded with his Breast-plate, and his other Arms. He afterwards behav'd himself gloriously in a Wood where the Enemy had hid themselves, and protected the King's Person, who was closely engag'd. But after the *Barbarians* were put to Flight that great Soul which had so bravely supported his Body during the Heat of the Engagement, at last flagg'd, and a cold Sweat issuing out

out of all the Parts of his Body, he was forc'd to plant himself against a Tree, but that proving too weak a Relief in his present Circumstances, the King took him up, and he expir'd in his Arms. This Misfortune was succeeded by another, which also did not a little afflict *Alexander*; for as *he* was returning to his Camp, *he* was inform'd of the Death of *Erigyius*, one of the bravest of his Captains. The King order'd both their Funerals to be perform'd with all the Pomp and Magnificence imaginable.

C H A P. III.

THE *Daba* were the next *he* intended to march against, for *he* understood *Spitamenes* was amongst 'em. But *Fortune* who never tir'd in heaping her Favours on *him*, assisted *him* here, as she had done on many other Occasions, and sav'd *him* the Trouble of this Expedition. *Spitamenes* had a Wife on whom he doated, and as the Fatigues and Dangers she was expos'd to in accompanying him wherever his Misfortunes drove him, were become troublesome to her, she employ'd all her Charms to prevail with him to desist from flying any farther; and as he had already experienc'd *Alexander's* Clemency, to try to appease the Anger of an Enemy he could not otherwise hope to escape. She had three Sons by him, which were pretty well grown up, these she brought to his Embraces, and begg'd *he would at least take Pity of them*; and to enforce her-Prayers, she told him, *Alexander* was not far off. But he thinking he was betray'd, and not advis'd, and that it was the Confidence she had in her Beauty, which made her not care how soon she came in *Alexander's* Power,

Power, drew his Sword, and would have kill'd her if her Brothers had not happily interpos'd. However, he commanded her *to be gone out of his Sight*, threatening her with Death, *if she offer'd to come into his Presence*; and that he might not be sensible of her Absence, he pass'd the Nights with his Concubines. Yet as his Passion for her was great, it was the more inflam'd by the Distaste he took to their Company. He therefore gave himself intirely again to her, conjuring her *never to speak to him more on that account, but willingly undergo with him whatever Fortune did allot them; since for his own Part, he had rather die than surrender himself*. Hereupon she excus'd her self, telling him, *That she had advis'd him only to what she thought was most for his Interest, and admitting she had talk'd like a Woman, yet it was with a faithful Intention; however, for the future she would conform to his Pleasure*.

Spitamenes won by this counterfeit Complaisance, gave a great Entertainment on the account of their Reconciliation, where having loaded himself with Wine and good Chear, he was brought half asleep into his Apartment. As soon as his Wife perceiv'd he was in a sound Sleep, she drew a Sword she had under her Garment for that purpose, and cut off his Head, and all besmear'd with the Blood, gave it to a Servant who was privy to her Crime, and being attended by him, came in this bloody Condition to the *Macedonian* Camp, where she sent Word to *Alexander*, *she had something of Importance to communicate to him, and which he must hear from her own Mouth*. The King immediately order'd her to be introduc'd, and observing her to be stain'd with Blood, imagin'd she came to complain of some Affront offer'd her, he therefore ask'd her *what she had to say*? Hereupon she call'd for the Servant that waited

waited in the Entry, who having *Spitamenes* his Head under his Garment, gave the Guards a Suspicion, and upon their searching him, he pull'd out the Head and shew'd it. But the bloodless Paleness had so disfigur'd its Features, that it was a hard Matter to distinguish whose it was. *Alexander* being inform'd, it was a Man's Head that he brought, went out of *his* Tent, and enquir'd into the matter, which he accordingly told him. The King's Mind was now perplex'd with Variety of Thoughts; for on the one hand, he look'd upon it as a considerable Piece of Service, that he who was first a Refugee, and afterwards had prov'd a Traitor, and was like to have delay'd the Execution of his great Designs was kill'd; but then again he detested the barbarous Action, of her having thus treacherously murder'd her Husband, who had deserv'd well of her, and by whom she had had several Children. At last the Foulness of the Fact got the better of the Service it did him, so that he sent her Word to be gone from the Camp, lest the Greeks more human Minds, and gentler Manners, should be corrupted by the Example of so barbarous a License. The *Daha* understanding *Spitamenes* was slain, seiz'd *Dataphernes* (who had been his Partner in the Conspiracy) and brought him bound to *Alexander*, and at the same Time yielded themselves to him. Being now deliver'd from the chiefest Part of his present Cares, turn'd his Mind to the revenging such as had by his *Prators* been oppress'd and ill us'd. He therefore conferr'd the Government of *Hyrcania*, the *Mardi* and *Tapuri-ans*, to *Phrataphernes*, with Orders to secure *Phradates*, whom he succeeded, and send him to him under a sufficient Guard. *Stasanor* was substituted in the place of *Arsanes*, Governor of the *Drance*. *Arsaces* was sent into *Media* to succeed *Oxydates*, and

and *Babylon* (*Mazeus* being dead) was committed to the Care of *Deditamenes*.

C H A P. IV.

HAVING made these Regulations, he drew his Army out of their Winter Quarters, where they had been almost three Months, and march'd towards a Countrey call'd *Gabaza*. The first Day's March was easie and calm, the next was not stormy and dismal, yet more gloomy than the preceding, and did not end without some threatning of a growing Evil; but on the third, it lighten'd from all Parts of the Heavens, and not only dazl'd the Eyes of the Army, but also terrify'd their Minds. The Thunder was almost continual, and the frequent Lightnings seem'd to fall from the Heavens before 'em, so that the Army was struck with such a Dread, that it neither dar'd to advance nor stand still. Soon after, there fell such a Storm of Rain, accompany'd with Hail, that it seem'd to partake of the Violence of a Torrent. At first they protected their Bodies, by covering themselves with their Bucklers, but after some Time, their Hands (which were wet with the Rain, and benumb'd with the excessive Cold) were no longer able to hold them, and they knew not which way to direct their Course, since the Violence of the Tempest seem'd to encrease on which side soever they turn'd. Breaking therefore their Ranks, they wander'd up and down the Woods, and many of them, rather overcome with Fear than tir'd with the Fatigue, cast their Bodies on the Ground, notwithstanding the Intenseness of the Cold had frozen the new fallen Rain. Others

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had

had plac'd themselves against the Stocks of Trees, which serv'd them both for Shelter and Support. At the same time, they were not ignorant they only chose a Place to die in, since for want of Motion their vital Heat would forsake them. However, the very Thoughts of Rest was so agreeable to their weary'd Bodies, that they did not grudge to die in an easie Posture. The Storm was not only furious, but obstinate in its Duration, and the Shade occasion'd by the Trees, concurr'd with the Darkness from the Tempest, to deprive 'em of the Light, which is a natural Comfort in Affliction. The *King* was the only Person could bear these Calamities; *he* therefore went about, and rallied his scatter'd Soldiers, raising them up who were laid down, shewing them at a Distance the Smoak that came out of the Cottages, and encouraging them to lay hold of the first Refuge they could come at. Nothing contributed more to their Safety in this Case, than the Shame they had to forsake the *King*, who they saw was indefatigable, and able to hold out against those Evils their weaker Natures sunk under. At last Necessity, which in Adversity is more efficacious than Reason, supply'd 'em with a Remedy against the Cold: And they fell to cutting down the Wood, then laying it in Heaps and Piles, they set it on Fire. One would have thought the whole Forrest had made but one continu'd Blaze, there being hardly room left for the Soldiers to stand between the Flames. The Heat now began to work upon their benumb'd Limbs, and by Degrees, the Spirits (whose Operation had been intercepted by the Rigor of the Cold) gain'd a freer Passage. Some of them got into the Cottages of the *Barbarians*, which Necessity had made them seek out, tho' hid in the utmost Part of the Wood; others repaired to the Camp, which was pitch'd indeed in a wet Ground, but then the Storm

was

was over. This Plague consum'd about a thousand Soldiers, Followers of the Camp, and Servants. It is said, that some of them who had plac'd themselves against the Trees, after they were frozen to Death, look'd as if they were alive, and talking to one another, preserving still the same outward Appearance that Death had surpriz'd them in.

It happen'd at this time, that a private Soldier of the *Macedonians*, being hardly able to support himself and his Arms, with much ado at last came into the Camp, where being perceiv'd by the *King* (who was warming himself by the Fire) he immediately leap'd from his Seat, and having help'd the Soldier (who was almost frozen, and hardly *compos mentis*) to put off his Armour, *he* bid him *sit down in his seat*. This Man for a while did not know either where he was, or by whom receiv'd; at last his vital heat being restor'd, he saw the *King*, and finding himself seated in the Royal Chair, he got up in a fright, which *Alexander* taking notice of, *he* ask'd him, *If he was not sensible how much happier the Macedonians were under their King than the Persians? Since to these it is a capital Crime to sit in the King's seat, whereas he had sav'd his Life by it.*

The next Day *he* call'd his Friends and chief Officers, and order'd them to make Proclamation throughout the Army, *that he would make good whatever Losses had been sustain'd*; and accordingly *he* was as good as his Word; for *Sysimithres* having brought to *him* a great Number of Horses, and two thousand Camels, with several Herds of Cattle, and Flocks of Sheep, *he* distributed them among the Soldiers, by which means *he* at the same time both supply'd them with Provisions, and made good their Damage.

The *King* having declar'd that *Sysimithres* had shewn himself grateful, for the Favours he had bestow'd

stow'd on him, order'd the Soldiers to provide themselves, each with Victuals ready-dress'd for six Days, and then march'd towards the *Saca*. He pillag'd and destroy'd all this Countrey, and made a Present of thirty thousand Sheep to *Sysmithres*, out of the Booty.

From hence *he* pass'd into the Province which was under the Government of a noble Satrap, whose Name was *Cobortanus*, who presently put himself under the *King's* Protection; whereupon *Alexander* restor'd his Government to him, without requiring any more from him, *than two out of three Sons which he had, to serve him in the War*. The Satrap gave *him* also the third that was left him, and made a sumptuous Entertainment for *him*, with all the Magnificence the *Barbarians* are capable of. During the Solemnity of the Feast, he order'd thirty noble Virgins to be brought in, among whom was *Roxane* his own Daughter, who was an exquisite Beauty, and neatly set off in Apparel, which is a Rarity amongst those People. This Lady, notwithstanding she was in the Company of chosen Beauties, so far excell'd 'em all, as to turn the Eyes of all the Beholders on her self, especially the *King's*, who in so great an Indulgence of Fortune (against which Mankind is seldom sufficiently guarded) had not now the same Government of *his* Passions as heretofore. *He* therefore who had look'd upon *Darius's* Wife and Daughters (to whom none could be compar'd, except *Roxane*) no other way than with the Eyes of a Parent, was so transported with Love for this young Lady (who in comparison to the Royal Blood, might be esteem'd of mean Extraction) that he did not scruple to say, *It was necessary for the firmer Establishment of the new Kingdom, that the Persians and Macedonians should inter-marry, that being the only way to wipe*

off the Shame of the Conquer'd, and abate the Pride of the Conquerors. He added, *That Achilles (from whom he was descended) had not scrupl'd to marry a Captive.* And that he might not be thought to do an ill Thing, he was resolv'd to marry her lawfully. Her Father ravish'd with an unexpected Joy, heard the King's Speech with inexpressible Pleasure; and the King in the highth of his Passion, order'd Bread to be brought, according to the Custom of his Countrey. This was the most solemn way of celebrating Marriages among the *Macedonians*, who on this Occasion cut the Bread asunder, each of the contracted Parties eating a Piece thereof. I suppose the Founders of this Custom had in view (in the Institution thereof) to shew by this sparing and easily procurable Food, with how small a Matter they ought to be contented. Thus the great King of *Asia* and *Europe*, in the Festival Sports of an Entertainment, marry'd a Captive, on whom he was to beget an Emperor for the Victors themselves. His Friends were asham'd he should after this manner, in his Wine and good Chear, make choice of a Father-in-law, out of those he had subdu'd; but upon *Clitus's* Death, all Liberty of Speech was taken away, and by their Countenance, which is easily commanded on such Occasions, they seem'd to approve of the King's Action.

CHAP. V.

HOWever, as he resolv'd to march into *India*, and from thence to the Ocean, that he might leave nothing behind him able to interrupt the Execution of his Designs, he gave Orders to his Lieutenants to pick out of all the Provinces, thirty thousand chosen young Men, and to send them to him

him ready arm'd, to serve him both as Hostages and Soldiers. He also detach'd Craterus to pursue Haustanes and Catenes, who had revolted; of whom Haustanes was taken, and Catenes was kill'd in Battel. Polypercon likewise subdu'd the Countrey call'd Bubacene. Having thus settl'd his Affairs, he bent his Thoughts intirely on the Indian War.

This Countrey was esteem'd to be vastly rich, not only in Gold, but also in Pearls and precious Stones, which were by the Inhabitants apply'd rather to *Luxury* than *Magnificence*. The Soldiers Shields were said to glitter with Gold and Ivory: That therefore *he* who excell'd all others, might be no where out-done, *he* order'd his Soldiers Bucklers to be cover'd with a Plate of Silver, and the Horse to have Gold Bridles, and adorn'd their Breast-plates, some with Gold, and some with Silver. The King was follow'd by one hundred and twenty thousand Men to this War. Having thus prepar'd every thing, *he* thought it now a proper Opportunity to execute what he had a long time wickedly entertain'd in his Mind; he therefore began to consult about the Measures which were necessary for *his usurping the celestial Honours*. He was no longer contented to be call'd *Jupiter's Son*, but would likewise be believ'd to be really so, as if *he* had the same Power over Mens Minds, as over their Tongues. He requir'd therefore, that the *Macedonians* should prostrate themselves on the Ground, and worship him, after the manner of the *Persians*. In these irregular Desires, *he* did not want the Applause of Flatterers, the perpetual Banes of Kings, who have been oftner ruin'd by them, than by their profess'd Enemies. However, the *Macedonians* were not to blame herein, for none of them were for subverting the Laws of their Countrey. But it was the *Greeks* Fault, who by their corrupt Manners, dishonour'd the Pro-

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fession they made of the liberal Arts. There was one *Agis* of *Argos* the worst Poet had been since *Chœrilus*; and another nam'd *Cleo* a *Sicilian*, who was no less a Flatterer by his own Nature, than by the common Vice of his Nation: These with some others, who were the Dregs and Refuse of their respective Towns, had greater Interest with *Alexander*, than either his Relations or Generals. These Wretches did not scruple to blaze up and down, *That Hercules, Bacchus, with Castor and Pollux, would all readily give way to this new Divinity.* The King therefore on a Festival Day, order'd an Entertainment to be prepar'd with all the Pomp and Magnificence imaginable: To which were invited not only the chiefest of his Friends, as well *Macedonians* as *Greeks*, but also the most considerable among the Nobility. After he had sate down with them, and eat a while, he withdrew. Then *Cleo*, as it had been concerted, made a Speech in Praise and Admiration of the King's Virtues, reciting particularly the great Favours he had bestow'd upon them; for all which, he told them, they had but one way to make him a Return, which was publickly to acknowledge him to be a God, whom they understood to be one; it being the least they could do, to repay such mighty Benefits, with so small an Expence as that of a little Incense. The Persians, he said, did not only act piously, but prudently in worshipping their Kings as Gods, since the Majesty of Empire and Sovereignty, was its chief Protection and Safety. Neither *Hercules* nor *Bacchus* were rank'd amongst the Gods, till they had overcome the Envy of their Contemporaries, after Ages easily believing what the present Age had warrant-ed. If the rest had any Difficulty in this Matter, he was resolv'd for his part to prostrate his Body on the Ground, at the King's returning to the Feast. That the rest ought to follow his Example, especially those

those who were wise, it being their Duty to lead the way, in the Veneration that was due to the King. It was easie to perceive, that this Speech was chiefly directed to Callisthenes, whose Gravity and Freedom of Speech was odious to the King; as if he was the only Person who hinder'd the rest of the Macedonians from paying him that Honour. Here-upon Callisthenes, on whom the Eyes of the Assembly were fix'd, (Silence being made) said, If the King had been present at thy Discourse, none of us would have had Occasion to answer thee; for he himself would have requir'd thee, not to press him to degenerate into foreign Manners, nor sully the Splendor of his glorious Performances with so foul an Envy as an Action of this Nature must necessarily raise in the Minds of all his Friends. But since he is absent, I'll answer thee for him, That no Fruit too soon ripe, is of long Duration, and that instead of conferring divine Honours on him, thou robbest him of 'em. For an Interval of Time is necessary to have him believ'd a God, it being from Posterity that extraordinary Men usually receive this Favour. For my Part, I wish the King a late Immortality, and that his Life may be long, and his Majesty eternal. Divinity sometimes follows the Dead, but never accompanies the Living. Thou just now broughtest Hercules and Bacchus for Instances of consecrated Immortality. Dost thou then think they were made Gods by the Decree of an Assembly at an Entertainment? No: Their mortal Nature was first remov'd from the Sight, before their Fame carry'd 'em into Heaven. Dost thou think, Cleo, that thou and I can make a God? The King then is to receive his Divine Authority from us! Now let us try thy Power. Let us see thee make a King, if thou canst so easily make a God. It is not so difficult a Matter to give an Empire, as to bestow Heaven. May the propitious Gods hear, without

being provok'd, thy blasphemous Discourse, and suffer things to be carry'd on with the same Success that has hitherto attended us, and grant us to be contented with our ancient Customs. I am not asham'd of my Countrey, nor do I now desire to learn from the Persians, after what manner I am to reverence the King. For I pronounce them to be Conquerors, if we receive from them Laws to prescribe our way of Living.

Callisthenes was listen'd to with great Attention, as the Assertor of the Publick Liberty. He not only gain'd the silent Approbation of the Elders, but also their open Declaration in his Favour, as thinking it a great Grievance to forsake their ancient Customs, and strike into foreign Manners.

The King was not ignorant of what pass'd to and fro in the Assembly, for he stood all the while behind the Tapestry, which he had for that purpose order'd to be hung up before the Table. He therefore sent to *Agis* and *Cleo*, to supersede the Discourse, and be contented that the Barbarians only, according to their Custom, fell down before him. And after some time, he return'd to the Assembly as if he had been about some Matter of Moment; and as the *Persians* were worshipping him, *Polypercon* (who sat above the King) advis'd one of them who touch'd the very Ground with his Chin, to hit it harder against the Ground, by which Jest he provok'd *Alexander's* Anger, which for a long time he had not been able to suppress. He therefore said to him, *Thou wilt not then adore me? Are we so contemptible to thee alone, as to be thy Sport and Diversion?* To which he made Answer, *That he neither thought the King ought to be jested with, nor himself contemned.* At these Words, the King dragg'd him from the Bed, and flung him on the Ground; where, as he lay in a prostrate Posture, he said to him, *Dost thou see thou hast done the same thing*

thing that thou ridiculedst just now in another ? And having commanded him to be taken into Custody, he dismiss'd the Assembly. However, after a long Punishment, he pardon'd Polypercon.

C H A P. VI.

AS for his Anger to *Callisthenes* (whose stubbornness he had a long time suspected) it had taken a deeper root, and he quickly had an opportunity to gratifie it.

It was (as we above took notice) the Custom of the *Macedonian* Noblemen to deliver their Sons to the King, as soon as they had attain'd to an adult Age, to be apply'd in Functions not differing much from servile Offices. They watch'd by turns in the Night at the King's Chamber-door; they introduc'd the Concubines by another way than where the Soldiers kept Guard. It was their Duty likewise to take the Horses from the Grooms of the Stables, and bring them to the King, whenever he mounted on Horseback; they attended him also a Hunting, or in Battel, and were instructed in all the liberal Acts and Sciences. Their chiefest Honour was, that they were allow'd to sit at Table with the King, and that no Body had Power to chastise 'em but himself. This Band was amongst the *Macedonians* a kind of Nursery, or Seminary of Generals and Commanders: From hence Posterity receiv'd their Kings, whose Offspring were after many Ages depriv'd of their States by the *Romans*. Now it happen'd that *Hermolaus*, who was a young Nobleman of this Royal Company, kill'd with his Dart a wild Boar that the King himself design'd to strike; for which Action he commanded him to be whipp'd. *Hermolaus*

molans being very much griev'd at this Affront, began to make his Complaint to *Sostratus*, who was of the same Band, and lov'd him dearly : This *Sostratus* seeing how miserably his Friend's Body was torn, and perhaps being already incens'd against the *King* on some other score, put the Youth, (who was sufficiently provok'd by this Usage) on entring into a strict Confederacy with him to kill the *King*. Having therefore giv'n and receiv'd, to and from each other, their mutual Fidelity in a matter of such Importance, they did not go about the Execution of it with a Juvenile Rashness, but wisely made use of proper Persons to join with them in their criminal Undertaking, which were *Nicostratus*, *Antipater*, *Asclepiadorus* and *Philotas* ; these brought into the Conspiracy *Anticles*, *Elaptonius* and *Epimenes*. Notwithstanding these Preparations, it was no easie thing to execute their Design ; for it was requisite they should be upon the Guard all at the same time, whereas some of them mounted one Night, and some another : They therefore were two and thirty Days in changing their turns of Duty, and making the other necessary Preparatives ; but the Night was now come that they were all to be upon Duty at the same time, and they were not a little pleas'd at their mutual Fidelity, of which so many Days elaps'd was a sufficient Proof. Neither Fear nor Hope had shook the Constancy of any one of them in all that time, so great was their Resentment against the *King*, or their Fidelity to one another. They were all waiting at the Door of the Apartment in which the *King* was eating, that at his rising from Table they might conduct him into his Bed-chamber ; but either his Fortune, or the merry disposition of the Company, promoted their drinking largely ; besides, the Sports and Diversions usual on those Occasions spun out the time.

time. The Conspirators one while were pleas'd at it, thinking *they should attack him in a stupify'd Condition*; on the other hand, they were in pain lest *the Merriment should be protracted till Day light*, because by break of Day they were to be reliev'd by others, and were not to mount again till that Day se'night; and they could not tell how to hope, that none of their Fidelities should be shaken in so long a time. However, as it began to draw near Day light, the Company broke up, and the Conspirators receiv'd the King, over-joy'd they had now an Opportunity to execute their criminal Design, when a Woman (who, as it was thought, was disturb'd in Mind, and was us'd to be about the Palace, because she pretended to foretel what was to come) not only came and met him, but oppos'd his coming out, and by her Countenance and Eyes signifying the Emotion of her Soul, advis'd him to go back again, and drink on. The King, as it were in jest, made answer, *That the Gods gave good Counsel*; and calling back his Friends, continu'd drinking till two hours after Day light: By this time others had succeeded in the Conspirators Post, notwithstanding which they did not go off, tho' they had fulfill'd their Duty; *so obstinate is the hope of Man when he passionately desires any thing*. When the King came out he spoke to 'em in more courteous Terms than usual, and bid them go and take their Rest, *since they had watch'd all the Night*; and to recompence their extraordinary Diligence, he order'd them, *every one fifty Sesterces*, commending their Zeal, which had prompted them to remain after they were reliev'd. Having lost their Opportunity they retir'd all to their own Homes. All the rest impatiently expected the return of their Duty; but Epimenes, whether suddenly chang'd by the King's obliging Behaviour to him and the o-

ther Conspirators, or out of Opinion, that the *Gods* oppos'd their wicked Intentions, went immediately to his Brother *Eurylochus* (from whom till then he had conceal'd the matter) and reveal'd to him the whole Design.

The Punishment of *Philotas* was so fresh in all their Memories, that he presently seiz'd his Brother, and brought him to the Palace, where having rais'd the Guards, he told them, *That what he came about related to the King's Safety.* The unseasonable time they came at, and their disturb'd Countenance, together with the dejected Looks of one of them, gave a Suspicion to *Ptolemaus* and *Leonnatus*, who commanded the Guard at the King's Chamber. They therefore immediately open'd the Door, and carrying in a Light waken'd the King, who by reason of his hard drinking was in a profound Sleep; but having by little and little recollected his Spirits, he ask'd them, *What was their Business?* Then *Eurylochus* made answer, *That the Gods had not intirely forsaken their Family, since his Brother (who had dar'd to be concern'd in the worst of Crimes) did not only repent thereof, but had pitch'd upon him to discover the same. The Mischief was to have been executed the preceding Night, and they were concern'd in it that the King least suspected.* Then *Epimenes* laid open the whole Matter, as it had been contriv'd and projected, giving in the Names of all the Conspirators. It is most certain *Callisthenes* was not nam'd amongst them, but he was observ'd to lend an easie Ear to the young Men, when they talk'd licentiously, and rail'd against the King. Some did not scruple to say, that when *Hermolaus* complain'd to him of his being whipp'd by the King's Orders, he made this Answer, *That the King ought to reflect, that they were now at Men's Estate;* but it is still doubtful, whether he said this to comfort him in his Affliction,

fiction, or to exasperate his provok'd Mind. When the King was thoroughly awak'd, and duly consider'd the greatness of the Danger *he escap'd, he had immediately order'd Eurylochus fifty Talents, giving him at the same time the forfeited Estate of a certain rich Man call'd Tyridates, and restor'd his Brother to him, even before he made it his request.* But *he order'd the rest of the Conspirators, and with them Callisthenes to be strictly guarded, who being brought to the Palace, he slept all that Day and the following Night, being heavy with the excess of Wine and sitting up.*

The next Day *he call'd a general Council, at which assisted the Fathers and nearest Relations of those whose Cause was in Agitation, and who for that reason were not safe themselves, it being the Practice of the Macedonians to punish with Death all those who were related by Blood to Traytors.* Then the King commanded *all the Prisoners to be brought in except Callisthenes, who presently confess'd the Crime they had intended; and as every one cry'd out against them, the King ask'd 'em, What he had done to them to provoke 'em to so horrible an Enterprize?*

C H A P. VII.

WHEN *Hermolaus saw all the rest remain'd silent like Men astonish'd, he utter'd himself in these Terms, Since you seem to be ignorant of the matter, I must tell you, that we conspir'd your Death, because you began to treat us not like free-born Men, but like Slaves.* At these Words his Father Sopolis got up, and calling him *the base Murtherer of his Parent as well as King; and clapping his Hand to his Mouth, said, He was distrai-*

ed with his Crime, and the Evils that attended it, and ought not to be suffer'd to say any more. But the King reprimanding his Father, bid *Hermolaus* speak what he had learn'd from his Master *Callisthenes*. I shall then, said *Hermolaus*, make use of the Favour you grant me, and tell you what our own Misfortunes have taught me. How small is the Number of Macedonians that have escap'd your Fury? How many is there left, I say, of noble Blood? *Attalus*, *Philotas* and *Parmenio*, *Lyncestes*, *Alexander* and *Clitus*, with reference to the Enemies, are still alive; they are still in their Posts protecting you with their Bucklers, cheerfully receiving Wounds to promote your Glory, and gain you Victories, and indeed you have nobly requited them; for one of them stain'd your Table with his Blood, and you thought it too great a Favour to punish the other with a simple Death; you therefore put the bravest Generals of your Army to the Rack, that the horrible Sight might be a grateful Spectacle to the Persians they had conquer'd. As for *Parmenio*, you barbarously murder'd him, without suffering him to plead, tho' he had taken off *Attalus* your Enemy. Thus you by turns make use of the Hands of the wretched to satisfy your Cruelty; and those who have been the Instruments of your Murthers, are quickly after sacrific'd by others. The whole Assembly now was in an uproar, and his Father drew his Sword to kill him, had he not been hinder'd by the King, who bid *Hermolaus* continue his Speech, and desir'd the Company to bear patiently the unhappy Wretch, who freely aggravated his own Crime. They being with difficulty restrain'd, *Hermolaus* said again; How bountifully you permit Children unskill'd in the Art of Oratory to plead their Cause! But the Voice of *Callisthenes* must be shut up in a Prison, because he alone knows how to speak: Why is he not brought forth, since they who confess themselves guilty are heard?

heard? But the Reason is plain, you are afraid to hear the free Speech of the innocent, nay, you cannot so much as bear his Looks. However, I'll do him that Justice, as publickly to declare he was not any way concern'd with us. They are here present who join'd with me in the glorious Undertaking. There is not any one that charges Callisthenes with being privy to the Design; yet he has been a long time destin'd a Sacrifice, by the justest and patientest of Kings. These are the noble Rewards of the Macedonians, whose Blood you make an abuse of, as a thing in it self superfluous and sordid. As for your own part, you have thirty thousand Mules laden with captive Gold, when at the same time your Soldiers have nothing to carry home to their Families, but their Scars and Wounds. Yet we made a shift to bear all these Grievances till you deliver'd us up to the Barbarians, and by a new and unheard-of Method you enslav'd even the Conquerors themselves. You delight in the Dress as well as Discipline of the Persians, and perfectly hate your own Countrey's Manners. It was therefore the King of the Persians, and not of the Macedonians, we would have kill'd; and we prosecute you as a Deserter by the Law of Arms. You were for having the Macedonians adore you as a God: You slighted your own Father Philip, and if there were any of the Gods superior to Jupiter, you would even disdain him too. Can you then wonder, if Men who are free-born cannot brook your excessive Pride? What can we hope from you, since we must either be contented to suffer Death, tho' innocent, or which is worse than Death, live in Slavery? Now if you are capable of Amendment, you are very much oblig'd to me, since I am the first that dare tell you what it is that free-born Spirits cannot bear. However be so good at least as to spare our Parents, and do not load their old Age with Torments, who are sufficiently punish'd in being

ing depriv'd of the Comfort they had in us ; but as for our selves, order us to be taken to the Place of Execution, that we may obtain by our own Death what we hop'd for from yours.

Hermolaus spoke after this manner, to which the King reply'd.

C H A P. VIII.

HOW false all these things are which he has receiv'd from his Master, sufficiently appears by my Patience ; for notwithstanding he pleaded Guilty to the worst of Crimes, yet I was willing you should hear what he said as well as my self. I was not ignorant that this Villain would be transported with the same Rage which prompted him to kill me, whom he ought to have reverenc'd as a Parent. It is true I lately order'd him to be corrected for his insolent Behaviour when I was a Hunting ; but I did no more in that than what was customary, and agreeable to the Practice of the former Kings of Macedon. And indeed it is as absolutely necessary, as for Pupils to be chastiz'd by their Tutors, and Wives by their Husbands ; nay, we grant our Slaves the privilege of correcting their Children of that Age. This is the Cruelty I exercis'd towards him, and which he would have reveng'd by my Death. As for those who do not compel me to act contrary to my own Nature, how gentle I am towards them, is well known to you all, and so needless to be dwelt upon. I cannot wonder Hermolaus does not approve of the Punishment of Parricides, since he has incurr'd the same ; so that when he praises Parmenio and Philotas he defends his own Cause. You know I pardon'd Lyncestes Alexander, who had twice conspir'd against my Life, tho' he was convicted

victed by two Witnesses ; nay, upon a third Conviction I delay'd his Punishment two Years, till you your selves requir'd he should undergo Justice. You all remember Attalus had resolv'd upon my Death, even before I was King. As for Clitus, would to God he had not forc'd me to be angry with him ; I bore his virulent Expressions to you and my self, longer than he would have bore with me, had I said the same things to him. The Clemency of Kings and Princes, does not altogether depend on their own Disposition, but in a great measure on the Temper and Behaviour of their Subjects. Empire is soften'd by Submission ; but when all respect is laid aside, and high and low are confounded, then we are necessitated to have recourse to Force, to repel Force. But why should I wonder he accuses me of Cruelty, who dares reproach me with Avarice ? I shall not appeal to your selves on that Head, for fear I should render my Liberality odious to you, by making it a burthen to your Modesty. Cast but your Eyes on the whole Army, and you'll see that they who a little while ago had nothing but their bare Arms, lie now in Beds of Silver, their Tables are serv'd in gold Plate, they have Troops of Slaves in their Service : In fine, they are so loaded with Booty that they know not what to do with it. Oh ! but the Persians whom we have overcome are in great Honour with me ! it is true, and it is an undeniable Argument of my Moderation, that I do not reign haughtily over them I have subdu'd. I did not come into Asia utterly to exterminate whole Nations, nor to make a Desert of one half of the World ; but to behave my self so towards those I should overcome, that they might not be griev'd at my Victories. This gentle usage is the cause they cheerfully serve in the War with you, and do not scruple to shed their Blood to enlarge your Empire ; whereas, had they been haughtily dealt with, they would have rebell'd. The Pos-

session of what we get by the Sword is not very durable, but the Benefit of good Offices is eternal. If we have a mind to keep Asia, and not simply pass through it, our Clemency must extend to them also; and their Fidelity will make our Empire everlasting. As for our selves, we have more than we know what to do with, and it must be an insatiable avaritious Temper indeed to continue filling what already runs over. It is said again, that I introduce the Manners of the Barbarians among the Macedonians! Why truly, I observe in many Nations those Customs which we need not be ashamed to imitate; nor is it possible to govern well so large an Empire, without communicating some things to them, and learning others from them. It was ridiculous enough in Hermolaus, that he would have had me oppose Jupiter, who thought fit by his Oracle to own me for his Son; do the Answers of the Gods depend on me? He was pleas'd to offer me the Title of Son; and I thought to receive it would very much contribute to the success of what I had in view. I wish the Indians could be persuaded I was a God; for War depends much upon Fame, and sometimes a false Report believ'd has had the effect of a Truth. Do you think it is out of Luxury that I cause your Arms to be adorn'd with Gold and Silver? No, I design'd thereby to convince those People amongst whom there is nothing more common than those Metals, that the Macedonians, who are invincible in all other respects, are not to be outv'y'd even in that. I shall by this means first conquer the Eyes of these Barbarians, who expect to see nothing amongst us but what is sordid and vile; and make 'em sensible, that it is not out of greediness of Gold and Silver, but out of a thirst after Honour, and to subdue the whole World, that we come to 'em: Of which Glory, thou Parricide, would'st fain have robb'd us; and having depriv'd the Macedonians
of

of their King, have deliver'd them up a prey to the conquer'd Nations. I am desir'd by thee to spare your Parents ; now that you might perish with the greater concern (if you have any love for your Parents) you ought to be kept ignorant of my Intentions therein ; but it is a long time since I abolish'd that Custom of putting to Death the innocent Relations with the guilty ; and I do now protest, that they shall all hold their respective Stations, and be as much in my Favour as before. The Reason why thou wouldst have had Callisthenes (who alone has an Opinion of thy Merit, because thou art a Ruffian) brought forth, is this, that he might before this Assembly have spoke the same outrageous things thou hast lately learn'd of him, and now villanously utter'd thy self against me. However, had he been a Macedonian by Birth, he had appear'd here with thee, a worthy Master of such a Disciple ; but as he is an Olynthian he has not the same Privilege. After this Speech he dismiss'd the Council, and order'd those who were condemn'd, to be deliver'd into the Hands of their own Companions ; who, to shew their Zeal for the King's safety, tormented 'em cruelly, and then kill'd 'em. Callisthenes also dy'd upon the Rack ; he was altogether innocent of the Conspiracy against the King's Person, but was not at all of a complaisant Humour, nor qualify'd by Nature for the Flatteries of a Court. The Death of this Man procur'd Alexander more ill Will than that of any other, by reason he was a Man of Probity and Learning, and had perswaded him to live, when (having kill'd Clitus) he had resolv'd to dye. It was the more dislik'd because he not only put him to Death, but tortur'd him, and all this without so much as granting him a Hearing. The King repented (but too late) of this Cruelty.

C H A P. IX.

BUT that *he* might not remain in Idleness, which is apt to give birth to, and foment false Rumours, *he* advanc'd towards *India*, getting always more Glory during the War, than *he* could maintain after the Victory. The whole Countrey of *India* lies chiefly towards the East, extending it self more in length than in breadth. To the Southward it is hilly, the rest of it is flat and open, and is water'd by several considerable Rivers, which have their rise from Mount *Caucasus*, and pass pleasantly thro' the Plains. The *Indus* is the coldest of them all, and its Water differs in Colour but little from that of the Sea. The *Ganges* is remarkable from its first appearance, and runs to the Southward in a direct Channel, washing the tops of several Mountains, after which the Rocks that lie in its way turn its Course to the Eastward. It empties it self into the Red Sea, and by its rapid Course eats away its Banks, and carries along with it a great many Trees with part of the Ground they grew upon. Its Current is obstructed in many Places by Rocks which beat it back, but where it finds a gentler Bed, it stagnates and forms Islands. The *Acesines* swells it: The *Ganges* intercepts this River a little before it discharges it self into the Sea; at their first meeting they dash furiously against each other, for the *Ganges* is very rough where it receives it, and the *Acesines* is too violent to give way to the other's resisting Streams. The *Dyardenes* is less celebrated, because it runs along the Extremities of *India*; however, it is remarkable for this, that it not only affords *Crocodiles* as the *Nilus* does, but also *Dolphins* and several other Animals unknown to other Nations.

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The *Erymanthus* has frequent turnings and windings, and is by the Inhabitants let into several Cuts for the more convenient watering of the Countrey, which makes it have but a small Channel, and even lose its Name where it runs into the Sea. This Kingdom is water'd by several other Rivers, which are of less note, because they do not run so far into it.

That part of the Countrey that lies nearest the Sea, is for the most part blasted by the North Winds, but these Winds being restrain'd by the tops of the Mountains, cannot penetrate into the inward Parts, for which Reason they are very fruitful; yet this Countrey's Climate is so different from the rest of the World, that when other Places are parch'd up with the scorching heat of the Sun, *India* is cover'd with Snow; and when other Regions are frozen, the heat is here almost intolerable, no Body being able to account for the cause.

The *Indian* Sea does not differ in Colour from other Seas, yet having received its Name from King *Erythras*, the ignorant have believ'd its Waters were Red. The Land produces a great deal of Flax, wherewith the major part of the Inhabitants cloath themselves. The inward Bark of the Trees receives the Characters of Letters as well as Paper, and the Birds may be taught to imitate the sounds of a human Voice. The Beasts here are different from those of other Nations, the Rhinoceros will live here but not breed. The *Indian* Elephants are stronger than those that are tam'd in *Africa*, and they are large proportionably to their Strength. Gold is to be found in several Rivers of this Countrey, which glide along with a gentle stream. The Sea doth cast both Pearls and precious Stones on the Shore, which is the chief cause of their Wealth, especially since they have
commu-

communicated their Vices to foreign Nations; for these Excrements of the working Sea, are look'd upon to be worth whatever Luxury rates them at. There, as well as elsewhere, the Minds of Men seem to be form'd according to the different Situation of the Countrey. They cover their Bodies with Linen Garments down to the Feet: They protect their Feet with Sandals, and bind their Heads with Rolls of Linen. Those amongst 'em, who are distinguish'd from the rest, either by their Nobility of Birth or Riches, have precious Stones hanging at their Ears, and adorn their Arms, as well as Wrists, with Bracelets and other Ornaments of Gold. They comb their Hair often, but seldom cut it. They shave the rest of their Face very smooth, but the Beard on their Chins remains untouch'd. The Luxury of their *Kings* (which they call Magnificence) goes beyond the Excesses of all other Nations. When the *King* is pleas'd to appear publickly, there are proper Officers, who with Silver Censers, perfume all the Way through which *he* is to pass. *He* is carry'd in a Litter of Gold, curiously set off with Pearls that hang down all round it. The Linen with which he is cloth'd, is finely embroider'd with Gold and Purple. *His* Body-Guards follow the Litter, some of them carrying Boughs full of Birds, which by their agreeable Notes, are taught to divert 'em, in their more serious Affairs.

The Palace is supported with Pillars of Gold, upon which Vines are curiously engrav'd, whereon the Effigies of those Birds they most delight in, are represented in Silver. The Palace is open to all Comers, while the *King* is combing *himself* and dressing; during which Time, he gives Audience to Ambassadors, and administers Justice to *his* People. When *his* Sandals are taken off, they anoint *his* Feet with odoriferous Unguents. *His*
greatest

greatest Labour is Hunting, which is perform'd in a Park, where *he* shoots the wild Beasts, whilst *his* Concubines are singing, and offering up their Vows for *him*. The Arrows are two Cubits in length, which they let fly with a greater Effort than Effect, by Reason they are clogg'd with an unweildy Weight, which retards their Swiftneſs, wherein their Force chiefly conſiſts. In ſmall Journeys *he* rides on Horſeback; but in longer Progreſſes, *he* is drawn in a Chariot by Elephants, whoſe vaſt Bodies are cover'd all over with Gold Trappings. And that nothing may be wanting to their corrupt Manners, *he* is follow'd by a long Train of Concubines in golden Litters: This Troop marches ſeparately from the Queen's, but is equal to it in point of Luxury. It is the Buſineſs of Women to prepare his Victuals; they alſo ſerve *him* with Wine, of which all the *Indians* drink largely.

When the *King* is overcome with Wine and Sleep, theſe Concubines carry him into his Chamber, invoking the Gods of the Night, in their Country Hymns. Who would imagine, that where Vice ſeems to reign ſo abſolutely, there ſhould be any Regard had to Wiſdom? Yet there is a rural and rigid Sect amongſt 'em, which they diſtinguiſh by the Title of wiſe Men. Theſe Men eſteem it a glorious thing to prevent their natural Death; they therefore, when Age begins to be burthenſome to them, or are otherwiſe indispos'd in Health, order themſelves to be burnt alive; looking upon it as a Diſgrace to their Lives, patiently to expect the Hour of Death. For this Reason, no Honours are ſhewn to the Bodies of thoſe who die of old Age; the Fire is deſil'd, they think, unleſs it receives them breathing. There is another ſort of wiſe Men amongſt them, who live in Towns after a civil Manner. They are ſaid to be well ſkill'd in the Motion of the Planets, and to fore-
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tel future Events. They hold, that no Body accelerates his Dissolution, who has Courage enough to wait the Decrees of Nature. They worship for *Gods*, whatever they have a Fancy for, but Trees especially; to violate which, is a capital Crime with them. Their Months contain'd but fifteen Days, notwithstanding which, their Years are compleat. They compute their Time by the Course of the Moon, but not as most People do, when that Planet fills its Orb; but when it begins to hollow it self into Horns. This is the Cause that they who reckon their Months after this manner, have them much shorter than other People. There are several other Things related of 'em, which I did not think worth the while to interrupt the Order of my History with.

C H A P. X.

Alexander being enter'd into *India*, the little Kings of the Countrey went to meet him, and submit themselves and Dominions to *him*, telling *him*, *he was the Third of Jupiter's Offspring, that had reach'd their Countrey.* Bacchus and Hercules *they knew by Fame only; but they had the Honour to behold him, and be blest'd with his Presence.* The King having receiv'd them graciously, order'd them to accompany *him*, designing to make use of them as Guides in *his* March. But when *he* saw that none of the rest came, *he* sent *Hephestion* and *Perdiccas* with part of the Army before, to subdue such as were unwilling to submit to his Power, ordering them *to advance as far as the River Indus, and there to prepare Boats to transport his Army over the same.*

Now because there were several Rivers to pass, they so contriv'd the Boats that they might be taken to Pieces, and carry'd in Waggon, and put together again when Occasion requir'd. Then having commanded *Craterus* to follow him with the *Phalanx*, *he* advanc'd with the Cavalry and light-arm'd Forces, and after a small Engagement, drove a Body of the Enemies (which came to oppose him) into the next Town. By this Time, *Craterus* was come up to *him*. That therefore *he* might strike a Terror amongst these People, who had not yet experienc'd the *Macedonians* Arms; *he* gave Orders to put all to the Sword, burning the Fortifications of the Place. But whilst *he* was riding about the Walls, *he* was wounded with an Arrow. However, *he* took the Town, and having kill'd all the Inhabitants, *he* did not so much as spare the Houses.

Having conquer'd this inconsiderable People, *he* came to a City call'd *Nysa*, and pitch'd *his* Camp before the Walls thereof in a woody Ground. Here the Night-cold was so sharp, that it very much incommoded the Army, but it was easily remedied by Fires. For having cut down the Wood, they kindled such a Flame, that it reach'd the burying Places of the Townsmen, which being built with old Cedar, quickly took Fire, which spreading it self on all sides, burnt them down to the Ground. By this time the barking of the Dogs from the Town, and the Noise of the Army from the Camp were reciprocally heard, so that the Inhabitants were sensible the Enemy was at hand, and the *Macedonians* understood they were near the Town.

The King therefore drew out his Troops, and as he prepar'd to besiege the Place, some of the Townsmen made a Sally, but were all kill'd. After this, some of the besieged were for surrendering,

ing, while others again were for trying a Battel. *Alexander* being inform'd of their Divisions, was cnotented to *block up the Place without doing them any farther Damage*. At last being tir'd with the Inconveniencies of the Siege, they yielded themselves at Discretion.

They said *Bacchus* was the Founder of their City, which Assertion indeed was true. It is seated at the Foot of a Hill, which by the Inhabitants is call'd *Meros*, from whence the *Greeks* took the Liberty to feign, *that Bacchus had been conceal'd in Jupiter's Thigh*. *Alexander* being instructed in the Nature of the Mountain by the Inhabitants, sent Provisions before *him*, and march'd to the Top of it with *his* whole Army. It is full of Vines and Ivy, and has a great Number of Springs. There is also great Variety of wholesom Fruits, the Earth nourishing the accidental Seeds that grow up and flourish without Cultivation. The Laurel likewise grows here, and it is pretty well cloth'd with Wood. I cannot believe it was by any divine Instinct, but rather out of Wantonness, that the Soldiers made themselves Garlands of the Ivy and Vine-Leaves, running in that Condition up and down the Woods like so many *Bacchanals*. This Frolick was begun by a few at first (as it generally happens) but at last spread it self throughout the whole Army. The Mountains and Valleys rung with the Voices of so many thousand Men, who in that manner ador'd the Tutelar God of the Grove. Here, as if they had enjoy'd a profound Peace, they laid themselves down upon the Grass and Heaps of Leafes. The *King* was so far from disapproving this accidental License, that on the contrary, *he* order'd them all wherewith to make Good Chear, and suffer'd *his* Army to be thus employ'd for ten Days together in the Service of *Bacchus*. Who can (after this) deny that the greatest

est Glory is oftner the Favour of Fortune, than the Effect of Virtue and Merit? Since the Enemy did not dare to attack them in that drunken and drowsie Condition, being no less terrify'd by the Noise and Roaring of these mad Men, than they would have been by their Shoots and Huzza's in an Engagement; it was the same good Fortune that sav'd them at their Return from the Ocean, when they had abandon'd themselves to Drunkenness and Feasting. From hence *he* came into a Countrey call'd *Dadala*, the People whereof had forsaken their Habitations, and were fled to the Woods and Mountains. *He* therefore pass'd by *Acadera*, which he also found waste and desolate by the Flight of its Inhabitants. This oblig'd *him* to change the Order of the War, and divide *his* Army to carry on the War in several Places at the same Time; so that they were overcome on the sudden, before they expected to see the Enemy. *Ptolemy* reduc'd several Towns, but *Alexander* took the largest. This being done, *he* again re-united his disperfed Forces, and having pass'd the River *Choaspes*, *he* left *Canus* to carry on the Siege of a rich Town call'd *Bezira* by the Inhabitants, and march'd *himself* to *Mazaga*. *Asfacanus* the King thereof, was lately dead, and his Mother *Cleophes* had the Government both of the Town and Countrey. The Town was defended by thirty thousand Foot, and was not only strong by Nature; but also by Art: For toward the East, it was cover'd by a rapid River, whose steep Banks hinder'd the Approach to it. On the West and South Parts, there are prodigious high Rocks (which Nature seems to have contriv'd on Purpose) at the Bottom whereof, are Pits and Gulphs which length of Time has sunk to a very great Depth; where these fail, there is a Ditch of wonderful Labour. The Wall that encompasses the Town, is thirty

five Furlongs in Circumference, the lower Part thereof is built of Stone, and the upper of unburnt Bricks ; yet the Bricks were strengthened with Stone, which they intermix'd, that the looser Substance might be secur'd by the harder. And lest the whole should sink or settle, there were strong Beams of Timber laid on the Top, on which they erected Scaffolds which serv'd both to cover the Walls, and to make 'em practicable.

As *Alexander* was viewing these Fortifications, uncertain what to resolve upon (for it was a laborious Undertaking to fill up those Pits and hollow Caves, without which, notwithstanding, it was impossible to advance the Engines to the Walls,) *He* was wounded in the Calf of the Leg with an Arrow from the Wall, which being pull'd out, *he* call'd for his Horse, and without binding up his Wound, pursu'd what he was about. However, as *his* Leg hung down, the Blood settling, and the Wound growing cold, *his* Pain encreas'd very much, which made *him* say, that *notwithstanding he was said to be Jupiter's Son, he was sensible of the Infirmities of a sickly Body.* Yet *he* did not retire to the Camp, till *he* had view'd every thing, and given his Orders thereupon. The Soldiers therefore, as they were commanded, demolished the Out-buildings, which afforded a great deal of Matter to fill up the Cavities with ; others cast in great Trees and vast Heaps of Stone, so that thro' the indefatigable Labour of the Soldiers, the Work was compleated in nine Days, and the Towers erected thereon. The *King*, tho' *his* Wound was not quite cur'd, came to view the Works, and having commended the Soldiers for their Diligence, order'd the Engines to be advanc'd, from whence they discharg'd a great many Darts against the Garrison. But what most amaz'd and terrify'd the *Barbarians*, was, to see the Towers move ; for be-

holding such vast Piles to advance, without perceiving by what Means they mov'd, they concluded they were actuated by the Power of the Gods. Besides, they could not conceive how such heavy Darts and Spears (which were shot at them from the Engines) could be cast by Mortals.

Despairing therefore of being able to defend the Place, they retir'd into the Citadel. From hence (being resolv'd to surrender themselves) they sent Ambassadors to implore the *King's* Pardon, which being granted, the Queen came to *him*, attended by a Train of Noble Women, who offer'd *him* Wine in golden Cups by the way of Sacrifice, and having presented to *him* her little Son, she not only obtain'd Pardon, but was also restor'd to the Splendor of her former Dignity, retaining the Title of Queen. Some were of Opinion, *that he granted more to her Beauty than to Pity*. It is certain, that the Child she had afterwards (whosoever was the Father of it) was call'd *Alexander*.

C H A P. XI.

FROM hence *he* detach'd *Polypercon* with an Army to a Town call'd *Ora*, the Inhabitants whereof making a disorderly Sally, were beat by him, and drove back into their Fortifications; so that *Polypercon* following them close enter'd the Town with them, and made himself Master of it. A great many other inconsiderable Places came into the *King's* Power, being forsaken by the Inhabitants, who repair'd with their Arms to a Rock call'd *Aornos*. It is said, that *Hercules* in vain attempted to take this Rock, being forc'd by an Earthquake to leave it. As *Alexander* was at a loss which way to attack this Place, which was

very steep and craggy on all sides, an ancient Man with his two Sons came to him, offering, for a Reward, to shew *his* Men a Way to the Top of it. *Alexander* hereupon promis'd him fourscore Talents, and keeping with him one of the young Men as a Pledge, sent him to execute what he had undertaken.

Mullinus the *King's* Secretary, with some light-arm'd Soldiers, was appointed to follow this Guide, who design'd, by fetching a Compass, to deceive the Enemy, and get up to the Top unperceiv'd by them. This Rock does not by a moderate and gentle Ascent (as a great many do) raise it self to its Highth, but stands erect after the manner of a Butt, being broad beneath, contracting it self as it rises, till at last it terminates in a Point. The River *Indus* runs at the Bottom of it, having very high and steep Banks; on the other side thereof, there are deep Gulphs and craggy Hollows that must of necessity be fill'd up by whoever would take the Place. There was a Wood near at hand, which the *King* commanded to be cut down for that purpose, causing the Branches to be lop'd off, that the Men might carry the Stocks with the more ease. He flung in the first Tree *himself*, the whole Army shouting at the same time for Joy, and no Body refusing now to do what they had seen the *King* himself perform. These Cavities were by this means fill'd up in seven Day's time. Then the *King* order'd the *Archers* and *Agriani-ans* to climb up the Rock. He likewise made choice of thirty of the bravest young Men of his own Band, appointing *Charus* and *Alexander* to be their Leaders. The last of these, he put in Mind of his Name, which he bore in common with *himself*.

At first, all oppos'd the *King's* hazarding *his* Person in so manifest a Danger; but the Signal was
no

no sooner given, than this Prince who was of an undaunted Courage turn'd to his Guards, and bid them follow him, and was the first to climb the Rock. After this, none of the *Macedonians* would stay behind; but of their own Motion, left their Posts and follow'd the *King*. A great many of them perish'd miserably, falling from the Rock into the River, which presently swallow'd them up. It was a melancholy Spectacle even to those who were out of Danger; but when they observ'd by the Disaster of others what they had reason to apprehend might be their own Lot, their Compassion was turn'd into Fear, and they no longer bewail'd the Dead, but their own hard Condition. By this time they were advanc'd so far, that they could not retire with Safety, unless they conquer'd; and the *Barbarians* on their part, roll'd down huge Stones upon them, who being terrify'd with the Danger, and not able to take firm Footing on the slippery Rock, were easily bore down the Precipice. However, *Alexander* and *Charus*, whom the *King* had sent before with the thirty chosen young Men, had made a shift to gain the Top, and was already engag'd in a close Fight with the Enemy; but by reason the *Barbarians* were still'd possess'd of the Summit, they received a great many more Wounds than they gave. Wherefore *Alexander* remembring both his Name and Promise, behav'd himself with more Bravery than Caution, but being attack'd on all sides, he was cover'd with Wounds, under which at last he sunk and died. *Charus* seeing him lie on the Ground, fell furiously on the Enemy, thinking of nothing but Revenge, and kill'd several with his Pike, and some with his Sword, but fighting singly against so many, he fell down dead upon the Body of his Friend.

The *King* no less afflicted than he ought to be, at the Loss of two such gallant young Men, and the rest of the Soldiers, caus'd the Retreat to be founded. What sav'd 'em here, was, that they retir'd leisurely, and with Intrepidity: Moreover, the *Barbarians* being contented to have repuls'd the Enemy, did not pursue 'em. However, tho' *Alexander* had resolv'd within himself to desist from the Attempt (since there was not the least Probability of Success therein) yet he made a Shew, as if he intended to continue the Siege. For he possess'd himself of the Avenues, and order'd the Towers to be approach'd, and caus'd fresh Men to relieve the fatigu'd. The *Indians* perceiving his Obstinacy, gave themselves up to Mirth, out of an Ostentation, not only of the Confidence they had in their Safety, but also of the Victory. But on the third Night, the Noise of the Drums ceas'd, and the Rock was every where illuminated with Torches, that they might make the safer Retreat in the Obscurity of the Night, through the Precipices of the Rock. The *King* having therefore sent *Balacer* to inform himself of the Matter, he brought an Account, that the Enemy was fled. Hereupon the *King* gave the Signal for a general Shout, which struck such a Terror into the disorderly Fugitives, that a great many of 'em thinking the Enemy at Hand, flung themselves headlong down the slippery Rock, and perish'd miserably; others of 'em being maim'd in some or other of their Limbs, were forsaken by those who were unhurt. The *King* having thus rather overcome the Place, than the Enemy, yet *he* offer'd Sacrifices to the Gods, as if *he* had obtain'd a great Victory, erecting Altars on the Rock to *Minerva* and *Victory*. As to the Guides who were to have conducted the light-arm'd Soldiers, as we said before, *he* faithfully gave them what *he* had promis'd them,

them, notwithstanding they did not perfectly perform what they had undertook ; after which *he* committed the guard of this Rock and the Countrey round it to *Sofocostus*.

C H A P. XII.

FROM hence the *King* continu'd *his* March towards *Ecbolina*, but being inform'd that some Defiles thro' which he was to pass, were possess'd by one *Eryces*, with twenty thousand Men ; *he* left the heavy laden part of *his* Army under the command of *Canus* to be brought up by easie Marches, and taking with him the Slingers and Archers, *he* went before, and having driven the Enemies from their Post, *he* open'd a Passage to the rest of his Troops that follow'd him.

The *Indians*, either out of Hatred to their Captain, or to obtain the Favour of the Conqueror, set upon *Eryces* in his Flight, and having kill'd him, brought both his Head and Arms to *Alexander* ; who, notwithstanding *he* forgave the Fact, yet *he* did not encourage the Example.

From hence in sixteen Encampments *he* came to the River *Indus*, where he found every thing prepar'd by *Hephestion* for passing the same, according to *his* Orders. *Omphis* reign'd now in this Countrey, he had, during his Father's Life, advis'd him to surrender himself and Kingdom to *Alexander*. His Father being dead, he sent Messengers to the *King* to know *his* Pleasure, Whether *he* should take the Regal Dignity upon him, or in a private Capacity wait *his* coming ; nay, his Modesty was such, that altho' he had *Alexander's* Consent to take the Government upon him, he would not make use of it till his Arrival. He had been

very kind to *Hephastion*, and had caus'd Corn to be distributed to his Troops *gratis*, but he did not visit him in Person, being unwilling to surrender himself to any but the King; whom (upon Information of his drawing nigh) he went out to meet at the Head of an Army, wherein he had several Elephants at some distance from each other, which a great way off appear'd like so many Castles. At first *Alexander* thinking him an Enemy, and not an Ally, order'd *his Soldiers* to take to their Arms, and the Horse to place themselves on the Wings, and all to be ready to engage. But the Indian perceiving the Mistake, caus'd his Army to halt, and clapping Spurs to his Horse, advanc'd alone. *Alexander* on his side did the like, ready to meet him either as a Friend or an Enemy; when they came together their Countenances declar'd they were friendly dispos'd, yet they could not express themselves to each other for want of an Interpreter, which being come, the Barbarian told the King, *That he met him in this manner with his Army, to yield up to him at once the whole Strength of his Kingdom, without waiting till he had receiv'd his Parole of Honour; that he resign'd both his Person and Dominions into his Hands, who he knew fought for Glory and Renown, and fear'd nothing but sullying his Honour.* The King being well pleas'd with the Sincerity of the Barbarian, gave him *his* right Hand as a Pledge of *his* Protection and restor'd his Kingdom to him. He presented *Alexander* with fifty six Elephants, and several other Cattle of an extraordinary Size; there were amongst the rest three thousand Bulls, which are a rarity in this Countrey, and much valu'd by the Kings. Upon *Alexander's* asking him, *Whether he had more Husbandmen or Soldiers belonging to him?* He made answer, *that having two Kings to fight against, he stood in need of more Soldiers*

diers than Plough-men. The two Kings were *Abisares* and *Porus*, but *Porus* was the most powerful; both their Countreys lay beyond the River *Hydaspes*; however, he was resolv'd to try the Fortune of the War against the first that should attack him.

Omphis, with *Alexander's* leave, put on the Diadem, and took the Name of *Taxiles*, which his Father had bore before him, and which descended of course to whoever was King of that Countrey. Having entertain'd *Alexander* very splendidly during three Days, on the fourth he gave him to understand what quantity of Corn he had supply'd *Hephestion* with for his Troops, and presented the King and all his Friends with Crowns of Gold, besides which he made him a Gift of fourscore Talents of coin'd Silver. *Alexander* was wonderfully pleas'd with the generous Disposition of this Prince, and thereupon not only return'd to him all his Presents, but also gave him a thousand Talents out of the Booty he carry'd with him, besides a great deal of Gold and Silver Plate, several *Persian* Garments, and thirty of his own Horses accoutred with the same Furniture he us'd to mount 'em with himself. As this Liberality very much oblig'd the *Barbarian*, so it very much offended his own Friends, insomuch that *Maleager* having drunk pretty largely at Supper, said, *He congratulated Alexander upon his having at last found in India, a Person deserving of a thousand Talents.* The King calling to mind how much he had been afflicted for killing *Clitus*, on the account of his indiscreet Discourse, suppress'd his Anger, but told him however, *That envious Persons were their own greatest Torments.*

C H A P. XIII.

THE Day following he receiv'd Ambassadors from *Abisares*, who, according to their Commission, yielded up all that belong'd to their Master, to his Royal Will and Pleasure; and after mutual assurance given of Fidelity and Protection, he sent them back to their King. *Alexander* imagining that *his* Reputation and Fame had by this time startled *Porus*, and so he might be brought to surrender himself as others had done, sent *Cleochares* to him, to summon him to pay a Tribute, and to meet the King on the Frontiers of his Dominions. *Porus* made answer, That he would not fail to do one of those two things; which was to meet him on the Borders of his Kingdom, but it should be with a good Army.

Alexander was now upon the point of passing the *Hydaspes* when *Barzaëntes*, the Author of the *Arachosians* Rebellion, was brought to him bound, and thirty Elephants which were taken with him; these were a very seasonable Succour at this time against the *Indians*, for they put more confidence in these Beasts than in their Army. *Gumaxus*, who was King of a small Portion of *India*, and had made an Alliance with *Barzaëntes*, was also brought a Prisoner to him. Having therefore committed the Traytor and the little King to a safe Guard, and the Elephants to the Care of *Taxiles*, he came to the River *Hydaspes*. *Porus* was encamp'd on the other side thereof to oppose his Passage, having with him fourscore and five Elephants of a prodigious strength of Body; besides these, he had three hundred Chariots, and thirty thousand Foot, amongst which there were some of those Archers which we have already mention'd,

on'd, whose Shafts were too heavy to be easily shot off. *Porus* himself was carried upon an Elephant of a much larger Size than the rest, his Arms, which were finely adorn'd with Gold and Silver, were a great Ornament to his illustrious Personage, which was of an unusual bigness; his Courage was equal to the Strength of his Body, and he was as wise as could be expected in a Nation so unciviliz'd. The *Macedonians* were not only terrify'd by the dreadful appearance of the Enemy, but also by the largeness of the River they were to pass, which was four Furlongs in breadth, and being very deep was no where fordable, so that it carried the appearance of a little Sea. Its largeness did not restrain its impetuous Current, for it ran with the same rapidity it could have done in a narrow Channel, and the repercussion of the Waters shew'd sufficiently, that there were hidden Rocks in it; but the appearance of Men and Horses that cover'd the Bank was still more terrible. There stood those huge bulks of over-grown Bodies, the Elephants, which being on purpose provok'd, fill'd the Air with a horrible Noise. Thus the Enemy on one side, and the River on the other, struck with an unforeseen Terror, the Hearts of those who had reason to hope well, and had so often experienc'd their own Bravery. They could not imagine how their tottering Boats could be steer'd to the other side, nor how, when they came there, they could with safety be put to Shoar. In the middle of the River there were several Islands, to which the *Indians* and *Macedonians* swam, holding their Arms over their Heads; here they had frequent Skirmishes, and both *Kings* were pleas'd with these small Trials, thinking thereby to make a Judgment of the issue of the future general Engagement.

Among the *Macedonians* there were two young Noblemen, whose Names were *Symmachus* and *Nicanor*, remarkable for their daring Courage, which seem'd to partake of Rashness and Temerity. The constant Success of their Party had brought 'em to an utter contempt of all Danger. Under the Conduct of these two, several brisk young Fellows (having no other Arms than their Javelins) swam over to an Island which was possess'd by a good number of the Enemy; where, without hardly any other Weapon than their Courage, they kill'd a great many of them. This done, they might have come off with Glory, if it had been possible for a successful Temerity to know where to stop; but while with Contempt and Pride they waited till the Enemy was reinforced, they were suddenly surrounded by some who had swam thither unperceiv'd, and oppress'd with their Darts at a distance. Those who escap'd the Enemy were either bore down the rapid Stream, or swallow'd by the Whirlpools. This Skirmish increas'd *Porus's* Assurance very much, who from the River side beheld all that pass'd.

In the mean time *Alexander*, who was at a loss what to do, at last resolv'd upon this Stratagem to deceive the Enemy. There was in the River one Island larger than the rest, which was very woody, and so very proper to cover his Design. Moreover, there was a deep Ditch not far from the Bank the *King* possess'd, which was not only capable of concealing Foot, but Horse also; that therefore he might draw off the Eyes of the Enemy from watching that conveniency, he detach'd *Ptolemy* with all his Cavalry, ordering him to ride up and down at a considerable distance from the Island, and now and then by Cries and Shouts to alarm the *Indians*, as if he intended to swim over the River. This was executed by *Ptolemy* for several Days,

Days, by which means he forc'd *Porus* to draw off his Army to that Place where he seem'd to have a design to pass over. The Island was now out of the Enemy's sight, and *Alexander* order'd his Tent to be pitch'd over against the *Indian's* Camp, and his usual Guards to do Duty before it, exposing on purpose to the View of the Enemy all the Pomp and Splendor of Regal Magnificence. He also caus'd *Attalus* (who was about his Age, and not unlike him in Feature and Person, especially at a distance) to put on his Royal Garments, and make a shew as if the *King* was there with them, and no wise contriving to pass the River.

A violent Tempest retarded at first the effect of this Enterprize, but afterwards promoted it, Fortune turning to his Advantage whatever seem'd to be against him. He was now preparing to pass into the Island we before mention'd (the Enemy being wholly intent on those who with *Ptolemy* were encamp'd lower down) when on the sudden there fell such a storm of Rain as was hardly supportable to those who were under cover, so that the Soldiers w're forc'd to quit their Boats, and take refuge again on the Land. The noise of all this Hurry was drown'd by that of the Waves against the Banks of the River, so that the Enemy was insensible thereof. After a while the Rain ceas'd at once, but then such thick Clouds succeeded, that they intercepted the Light, and made it almost impossible for those who were talking to one another to distinguish their Companions Faces. This darkness would have terrify'd any Body but *Alexander*, especially being to pass over an unknown River, when they were not certain but the Enemy might have possess'd themselves of that part of the Bank they were unwarily making to without the benefit of their Eyes, as if they sought for Glory from the extremity of
their

their Danger. But that Obscurity which would have daunted others, *he* thought was his Opportunity; *he* therefore gave the Signal to embark (enjoining a profound silence) and caus'd *his* own Boat to put off the first. That part of the Bank where they landed was free from the Enemy, *Porus* being still intent upon *Ptolemy*, and all the Boats except one which was dash'd against a Rock, arriv'd safe, so that *he* order'd *his* Men to take to their Arms, and form their Ranks, and march in order of Battel.

C H A P. XIV.

A *Alexander* was marching now at the Head of his Army, divided into two Wings, when *Porus* receiv'd Advice, that the Enemy had pass'd the River, and were marching directly to him; at first, thro' the common frailty of the Mind of Man, he flatter'd himself with the hopes that it was *Abisares* his Ally, who was coming to his Assistance, according to Agreement; but by and by the clearer Light made him sensible it was the Enemy, so that he sent his Brother *Hages* with a hundred Chariots, and three thousand Horse to make Head against 'em. These Chariots were the chiefest part of his Strength, each of them carry'd six Men, viz. two who had Bucklers, two Archers dispos'd on each side, and the other two were Drivers, who were not without Arms, for in close Engagements they laid aside their Reins, and cast Darts amongst the Enemy. However, they were of little or no use at this time, for the Rain (as we before observ'd) having fallen in greater abundance than usual, had made the Ground slippery and impracticable to the Horses, so that these heavy
and

and almost immoveable Chariots stuck fast in the Mire and hollow Places; whereas *Alexander's* Army being lightly arm'd, and free from all Incumbrance, charg'd the Enemy briskly. The *Scythians* and the *Daha* gave the Onset, then he order'd *Perdiccas* with his Horse to attack the Enemies Right Wing; by this time the Engagement was general, and the Charioteers thinking themselves the last refuge of their Party, with a loose Rein drove furiously in the midst of the Throng, and equally annoy'd both Parties; for at first the *Macedonian* Infantry suffer'd very much by them, but being driven thro' slippery and impracticable Places, the Charioteers were flung out of their Seats, while the affrighted Horses over-turn'd some of them in the Sloughs and Ditches, and precipitated others into the River; a few of them passing thro' the Enemy, came into *Porus's* Camp, who was preparing all things for a vigorous Fight. *Porus* perceiving his Chariots thus scatter'd all over the Field of Battel, distributed the Charge of the Elephants amongst his Friends, and behind them drew up his Foot and Archers, who likewise had Drums to beat, which serv'd the *Indians* instead of Trumpets. The Beasts are not at all mov'd at this Noise, their Ears having been a long time accusom'd to it.

The Image of *Hercules* was carry'd at the Head of the Infantry. This was a great Encouragement to them, and it was esteem'd a great Crime to desert the Bearers of it, who were by the Laws punish'd with Death if they did not bring it safe out of the Field; the fear they formerly conceiv'd of him, while their Enemy, being now turn'd into Veneration and religious Worship.

The noble Presence of *Porus*, as well as the Sight of these monstrous Animals, put the *Macedonians* to a stand for a while; for these Beasts
being

being dispos'd among the Men in the Front, at a distance carry'd the appearance of Towers ; and *Porus's* extraordinary Stature was very much set off by the largeness of the Elephant that carry'd him, which as much exceeded all the rest in highth as he himself exceeded other Men in tallness. *Alexander* therefore taking a view of the King's Person and his Army, said, *At last I have met with a Danger suitable to the Greatness of my Soul ; I have now not only to do with Beasts, but also with Men of Distinction.* Then looking at *Canus*, he gave him the following Orders, *When you see me with Ptolomy, Perdiccas and Hæphestion, charge the Enemies Left Wing, and shall observe us to be in the heat of Action, do you vigorously attack the Right Wing ; and for you, Antigenes, Leonnatus, and Tauron, do you press hard upon the Center. Our long and strong Pikes can never be of greater use than against these Beasts, and their Managers ; beat these off of 'em, and run those through. They are at best but a dangerous Succour, and may as easily annoy as do Service ; nay, their Rage exerts its fury chiefly when turn'd upon their own People, for it is Discipline teaches 'em to act against the Enemy ; whereas fear drives 'em amongst their Friends.*

As soon as he had spoke these Words, he clapped Spurs to his Horse, and as he had projected, disorder'd the Enemies Ranks ; then *Canus* attack'd the Right Wing with great Bravery, and the *Phalanx* at the same time broke in upon the Center.

Porus took care to oppose the Horse with his Elephants ; however, that slow and unwieldy Animal could not equal the Horses speed ; besides which the *Barbarians* Arrows were of no use to them, for as they were long and very heavy they could not fix them without resting their
Bows

Bows upon the Ground, which being slippery, deceiv'd their Effort, so that while they were preparing to shoot, they were prevented by the Enemy.

Porus's Orders were now no longer minded (as it generally happens where Fear has a greater Influence than the Authority of the Captain.) There were at this time as many Generals as there were scatter'd Regiments. Some were for uniting all their Troops into one Body, others were for fighting distinctly in separate Corps; some were for making a stand, others were for wheeling about and attacking the Enemy in the Rear. In fine, there was no general Consultation; notwithstanding which, *Porus*, accompany'd by a few (with whom Honour prevail'd more than Fear) rally'd his scatter'd Forces, and advanc'd against the Enemy, placing the Elephants in the front of his Army. These Animals were very terrible, and their unusual noise did not only frighten the Horses (who are naturally fearful) but the Men also, and disorder'd the Ranks; so that they who a little before were victorious, began now to consider which way they should take their Flight. Hereupon *Alexander* sent against the Elephants the *Agrians* and the light-arm'd *Thracians*, who are better at skirmishing than maintaining a close Fight. These Men pour'd in a great number of Darts and Arrows amongst the Elephants and their Governors, and the *Phalanx* perceiving their Confusion press'd hard upon 'em; but some of these advancing too eagerly against those Beasts, so provok'd 'em by the Wounds they gave 'em, that they trampled them under their Feet, and were an Example to others to attack them with more caution; but the most dismal thing of all was, when these Animals took up the arm'd Soldiers with their Trunks,

Trunks, and deliver'd 'em up to their Governors upon their Backs.

This made the Fight doubtful, the *Macedonians* sometimes pursuing, and sometimes flying from the Elephants, which occasion'd the Battel to continue till the Day was far spent, till at last they chopp'd their Legs with Axes prepar'd for that purpose. They had besides another kind of Weapon, somewhat crooked, and resembling a Scythe, with which they cut off their Trunks. Thus the fear not only of Death, but of a new Torment in the same, made them leave nothing unexperienc'd against them.

At last the Elephants, enrag'd with their Wounds, bore down their own Party, and casting their Governors on the Ground, trampled them to Death. By this time Fear had so seiz'd them, that instead of being mischievous they were drove like Sheep out of the Field of Battel; but *Porus* (notwithstanding he was forsaken by the greatest part of his People) began to ply those who surrounded him with Darts, with which he was provided, and wounded a great many at a distance, being himself expos'd like a mark, at which every Body levell'd. He had already nine Wounds before and behind, so that having lost a great quantity of Blood, the Javelins might be said rather to drop from his faint Arm, than be deliver'd. However, the Elephant that carry'd him (not being yet hurt) made great havock amongst the Enemy, till the Governor of it (perceiving the King's Limbs to fail him, and that dropping his Arms he was hardly *compos mentis*) put the Beast to flight, making the best of his way. *Alexander* follow'd him as fast as he could, but his Horse being very much wounded fainted under him, and might be said rather to set him down gently, than cast him. Being thus oblig'd
to

to change his Horse, retarded his pursuit. In the mean time he sent *the Brother of Taxiles the Indian King*, to persuade Porus to surrender himself, and not hold out to the last extremity; but he, altho' his Strength fail'd him, and his Blood was exhausted, yet raising himself up at the known Voice, said, *I am sensible thou art the Brother of Taxiles, that Traitor of his Sovereignty and Kingdom.* And at the same time, cast the only Dart he had left with such a Force at him, that it pierc'd his Body thro' to the Back. Having given this last Token of his Strength, he began to fly faster than before; but by this time, the Elephant who had receiv'd a great many Wounds, was not able to go any farther; so that Porus was oblig'd to stop, and with some Foot made Head against the pursuing Enemy. *Alexander* being come up with him, and understanding his Obstinacy, forbid any Mercy to be shewn to those who made any Resistance. At these Words they ply'd Porus and his Men with Darts from all Parts, till at last not being able to bear up any longer, he began to slide down from his Beast. The *Indian* who guided the Elephant, thinking *he* had a Mind to alight, caus'd the Beast to kneel down according to Custom; which being observ'd by the rest, they all did the like, being train'd up to do so, by which means, Porus and all his Followers, became a Prey to the Conquerors. The *King* thinking Porus was dead, order'd his Body to be stripp'd; but as they were running to put the same in Execution, and take off his Armour and Garments, the Beast began to defend his Master, and attack the Aggressors, and taking hold of him with his Trunk, put him again upon his Back. Whereupon they presently cover'd the Elephant with Darts, and kill'd it, and put Porus in a Waggon. But the *King* perceiving him to lift up his Eyes, was mov'd with Compassion, and

and said, to him, *What Madness possess'd thee to try the Fortune of the War with me, of whom thou hadst heard such mighty Things, especially when Taxiles thy Neighbour might have been a sufficient Example of my Clemency to those that are wise enough to submit to me?* To which he made Answer, *Since thou askest me the Question, I shall tell thee with the same Freedom thou grantest me by the Interrogation. I thought no Body stronger than my self; for I knew my own Power, and had not yet experienced thine. The Event of the War convinces me, thou art the greatest Prince, and I think it no small Happiness to hold the next Rank to thee.* Being ask'd again, *How he thought the Victor ought to use him?* He reply'd, *As this Day's Action shall inspire thee; by which thou art sensible of the Frailty of mortal Happiness.* This Admonition avail'd him more than any Intreaty could have done; for considering the Greatness of his Mind, which was altogether fearless, and not in the least impair'd by Adversity, *he not only took Pity of him, but us'd him honourably. He order'd the same Care to be taken of his Wounds, as if he had fought for his Service, and when they were cur'd, he receiv'd him into the Number of his Friends, contrary to every Body's Expectation, and in a little time, gave him a larger Kingdom than he had before.* Indeed, there was nothing more strongly riveted into his Nature, than a due Regard to true Merit and Glory. It is true, at the same time, *he consider'd Renown more impartially in an Enemy, than in a Subject; for he thought that the Fame of these, was a Diminution to his own, which he imagin'd receiv'd some additional Lustre from the Greatness of those he overcame.*



QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK IX.

CHAP. I.



Alexander rejoicing at so memorable a Victory (by which *he* conceiv'd *he* had open'd *himself* a Passage into the East) offer'd Sacrifices to the Sun; and that his Soldiers might undergo with the greater Chearful-

ness the Fatigues of the remaining Wars, *he* made a Speech to them, wherein *he* first highly commended them for their past Services, and afterwards acquainted them, *That the main Strength of the Indians had been overcome in the late successful Action. That what remain'd, would be only a noble Booty for them; since the Countrey they were going to, was particularly celebrated for its prodigious Wealth and Riches, in respect to which, the Spoils of the Persians were but mere trifles: That they might now propose, not only to fill their own Houses, but likewise all Macedonia and Greece, with Pearls and precious Stones, Gold and Ivory.* Hereupon the Soldiers, who were no less greedy

of Wealth, than ambitious of Glory and Honour, and especially because they had never found *his* Promises fail 'em, readily offer'd *him* afresh their Service. Having therefore dismiss'd the Assembly full of Hopes, *he* order'd *Ships to be built, that when they had over-run all Asia, he might be able to visit the Sea which bounded the whole World.* There was a great deal of Timber fit for Shipping in the neighbouring Mountains, which as they were felling, they found Serpents of an unusual Size; here were also *Rhinoceroes*, which is an animal very rare in other Parts. This Name was given them by the *Greeks*, they being call'd otherwise by the *Indians*.

The *King* having built two Cities upon the Banks of the River *he* had lately pass'd, presented every one of his Generals with a Crown, and a thousand Pieces of Gold besides. He also rewarded the rest in proportion to their Ranks, or the Service they had done. *Abizares* who had before the Battel with *Porus*, sent Ambassadors to *Alexander*, now sent others to *him* to assure *him*, *he was ready to obey his Commands, provided he might not be obliged to surrender his Person, he being resolv'd not to live without the Regal Dignity, nor to reign in Captivity.* To whom *Alexander* made Answer, *That if it was too great a Trouble for their Master to come to him, he would go to him.*

Having thus vanquish'd *Porus*, and pass'd the River, *he* advanc'd farther into the Countrey, where *he* found Woods of a vast Extent, wherein were Trees of a prodigious highth, the greatest Part of the Arms equalling in Bigness the Stocks of Trees; for bending down into the Earth, they grew up again in the same place, and seem'd rather like a Tree growing from its proper Root, than a Bough rising from another Stem. The Air is temperate, by reason that the Closeness of the Boughs

Boughs mitigate the excessive Heat of the Sun, and the great Number of the Springs, afford a large Quantity of Water, which refreshes the Ground. However, here were also Multitudes of Serpents, whose Scales glitter'd like Gold, and there is not any Poison more virulent than theirs; for their Bite was present Death, till such time as the Inhabitants communicated to 'em a proper Antidote. From hence they pass'd through Desarts, to the River *Hydraotes*, which has a Forest bordering upon it, set thick with uncommon Trees, and very much frequented with wild Peacocks. Decamping from hence, *he* took a Town not far distant, by Assault, and having taken Hostages for their Fidelity, *he* enjoyn'd 'em a certain Tribute, and advanc'd to another great Town, as they commonly are in that Countrey. This Town was not only encompass'd with a Wall, but also fortify'd with a Morass. The Inhabitants of this Place came out to fight him, making use of several Chariots join'd together; some of them were arm'd with Darts, others with Pikes, and some with Axes, and they would nimbly leap from one Chariot to another, when they had a Mind to succour their Friends. At first, this new way of fighting somewhat startl'd the *Macedonians*, who found themselves wounded at a Distance, without the Power of revenging themselves upon their Enemies. But afterwards growing into a Contempt of this disorderly Rout, they surrounded these Chariots, and stuck those who fought in 'em; and to facilitate the Work, the King commanded 'em to cut the Traces that join'd 'em together, that so they might attack 'em singly. Having in this Engagement lost eight thousand of their Men, the rest retir'd into the Town. The next Day the *Macedonians* scal'd the Walls, and took it by Assault; some few had sav'd themselves by Flight, and being

ing sensible of the Destruction of the Place, they swam over the Moor, and carry'd a dismal Account to the neighbouring Cities, and put them in the utmost Consternation, telling them, *there was an invincible Army at hand, commanded by the Gods themselves.* Alexander having detach'd *Perdiccas* with a Body of Light-horse to destroy the Countrey, sent *Eumenes* with another Body to reduce the obstinate, and march'd *himself* with the rest to a strong Town, into which the Inhabitants of several others had taken Refuge. The Towns-Men dispatch'd Deputies to *Alexander*, to implore *his* Mercy, and yet at the same time, prepared themselves for War: For a Sedition happening amongst 'em, they were divided in their Counsels, some preferring any Condition to a Surrender, while others thought it was to no Purpose to resist. But there being nothing consulted in common, they who were for surrendring, open'd the Gates and let in the Enemy.

Notwithstanding the *King* might with Justice, have punish'd those who were for encouraging the rest to oppose him, yet *he* pardon'd all in general, and having receiv'd Hostages from them, *he* march'd *his* Army to the next City. As these Hostages were led at the Head of the Army, the Inhabitants from the Walls knew them, as being of the same Nation, and therefore came to a Parley with them, and being inform'd by 'em of the *King's* Clemency as well as Power, they were prevail'd upon to surrender themselves, and the other Towns following their Example, put themselves also under *his* Protection.

From hence *he* came into the Kingdom of *Sophites*. This Nation (for *Barbarians*) is very wise, and is govern'd by good Laws and virtuous Morals. Here they do not rear and bring up their Children according to the Will of the Parents, but
by

by the Approbation of such who are appointed to inspect and examine the Frame and Make of their Bodies. Where they find any notoriously deformed, or defective in any of their Limbs, they cause 'em to be kill'd. In their Marriages, they have Regard neither to Nobility nor Extraction, but only to the Beauty of the Body; because it is chiefly that they value in their Children. *Alexander* had brought *his* Army before the Capital of this Nation, where *Sophites* was himself present. The Gates were shut, but no Body appear'd either on the Walls, or in the Towers: This made the *Macedonians* suspect the Inhabitants had either abandon'd the Place, or else kept out of Sight on the account of some Stratagem. But all on the sudden, the Gate was open'd, and the *Indian* King (who far exceeded all the rest in Goodliness of Person) with two Sons already well grown, came forth to meet *Alexander*. His Garment was intermix'd with Gold and Purple, and cover'd his Legs; his Sandals, which were of Gold, were also set with Pearls and precious Stones, with which his Arms were likewise curiously adorn'd. At his Ears he had Pendants, whose extraordinary Whiteness and Largeness made them almost inestimable. His Scepter, which was of Gold also, was neatly set off with Beryls. This he deliver'd to *Alexander*, wishing him all Health and Happiness, and thereby gave *him* to understand, that he laid himself, his Children, and Nation at his Mercy.

This Countrey affords a very fine Dog for Hunting; they are said to refrain their Cry, after they have once seen their Game, which is the Lion particularly. That he might therefore shew *Alexander* the Strength and Nature of these Dogs, he caus'd a very large Lion to be brought forth, and only four of them to be let loose upon it. These Dogs presently fasten'd upon their Prey; then one

of those whose proper Business it was, took hold of the Leg of one of them, and pull'd it with all his Strength, but the Dog not yielding thereunto, he began to cut it off; notwithstanding which, the Dog kept his Hold, so that the Keeper cut him in another Place, and finding him to adhere still tenaciously to his Prey, he by degrees cut him in Pieces, the Dog keeping his Teeth still fix'd in the Beast till he dy'd; so great is the Eagerness Nature has implanted in these Creatures for their Game, as it is transmitted to us from our Predecessors. I must confess, I transcribe more than I believe my self; for I cannot affirm for Truth, what I doubt of; and at the same time, I cannot omit relating what I have receiv'd. *Alexander* therefore leaving *Sophites* in Possession of his Dominions, advanc'd to the River *Hypasis*, and there join'd *Hephestion* who had subdu'd another Countrey. *Phegelas* was King of the Neighbouring Nation, who, upon Advice of *Alexander's* Approach, order'd his Subjects to mind cultivating their Land, and then set out with Presents to meet him, resolv'd to refuse no Injunctions he should lay upon him.

C H A P. II.

THE *King* having staid with this Prince two Days, design'd on the third, to pass the River; which Undertaking was not only difficult, by reason of its great breadth, but also on the account of the many Rocks that lay scatter'd up and down in it. He therefore inquir'd of *Phegelas*, what was proper for *him* to know; who gave *him* to understand, That beyond the River, he had eleven Days Journey through Desarts and Solitudes, after which,

which, he would come to the Ganges, which is the largest River in all India; the furthestmost Bank whereof was inhabited by the Gangaridæ, and Pharrasij, whose King's Name was Aggrammes, who guarded the Entrance into his Dominions, with twenty thousand Horse, and two hundred thousand Foot; besides which, he had two thousand Chariots, and (which was still more terrible) three thousand Elephants. The King at first look'd upon these Reports as so many Incredibilities, and therefore ask'd Porus (for he was with him) Whether this Account was true? Who told him, That as to the Strength of the Nation, there was nothing Romantick in it; but as for the present King, he was so far from being noble, that he was of very mean Extraction; his Father having been a Barber, and had much a-do to subsist by his daily Labour; till his Person recommended him to the Queen's Favour, who procur'd him the first Place in the then King's Friendship. After which, this barbarous Wretch treacherously kill'd his Sovereign, and under the Pretence of a Guardian, seiz'd his Kingdom; then taking off the Children, begot the present King, who was both despis'd and hated by his Subjects, who were more mindful of his paternal Disgrace, than of his present Fortune. This Confirmation of Porus, made the King very anxious; for tho' he despis'd the Enemy, and the Elephants, yet he was uneasy on the account of the difficult Situation of the Places he was to pass through, and the Rapidity of the Rivers. It seem'd to him a hard Task to seek out an Enemy in the Extremity of the World, and force 'em out of their strong Holds against him. On the other side, his insatiable Thirst after Fame, and his unbounded Ambition, shorten'd the Distance of the remotest Places, and made him think no Difficulty insurmountable. But then again, he doubted whether the Macedonians,

who had already march'd through so many large Countreys, who were grown old in the Camp and Service, would be willing to follow him over so many Rivers that lay in his way, and struggle thro' so many Difficulties of resisting Nature? It was reasonable to think, that they who were already overloaded with Booty, would rather covet to enjoy what they had acquir'd, than harass themselves any longer to procure more. Moreover, his Soldiers Disposition and his, were quite different; for as he had ingross'd in his Thoughts, the Empire of the whole World, he was in a manner but beginning his great Work, whereas the Soldiers, overcome by their Fatigues and Toils, desir'd nothing more than an End of their Dangers, that they might enjoy the last Fruits of their Labours. However, Ambition carry'd it against Reason; having therefore drawn up his Army, he spoke to 'em in the following manner. I am not insensible, Soldiers, that the Indians have within these few Days spread several Rumours on purpose to terrifie you; but you do not need being told, how groundless these Reports are. Thus the Persians heretofore endeavoured to terrify you with the Straits of Cilicia, and the Plains of Mesopotamia, the Tigris and the Euphrates; and yet we forded the one, and by the means of Bridges, past the other. Fame never represents Matters truly as they are, but on the contrary, magnifies every thing. This is plain from our own Reputation and Glory, which tho' founded on solid Truths, is yet more oblig'd to Rumor than Reality. Who would have thought we could have overcome (as we did lately) those monstrous Elephants that appear'd like so many strong Fortifications? Or that we could have pass'd the River Hydaspis? Or grappl'd with a great many other Difficulties which were much more formidable to hear of than they were in Fact? Believe me, we had long ago fled from Asia, if Fables could have

frighten'd us. Can you imagine there should be greater Herds of Elephants than of other Cattle? When at the same Time it is known to be a rare Animal, hard to be taken, and harder to be tam'd: It is the same Spirit of Falshood, that has represent-ed your Enemies to be so numerous in Horse and Foot. As for the River, it is certain that the broader it is, the gentler must be its Stream; for it is the being confin'd within narrow Banks, and the running in a strait Channel, that causes the impetuous Current of the Water. Besides, all Men know, that the greatest Danger is at the landing, the Enemy being ready on the Bank to receive us; so that the Risk is equal in that Case, be the River broad or narrow. But admitting that all these Reports were true, Is it the huge Bulk of these Animals, or the Number of the Enemy, that affrights you? As to the Elephants, we have lately experienced that they did more Damage to their own Party, than to us, and that with our Axes, and other Weapons, we can disable their vast Bodies. What matters it then, whether they are the same Number Porus lately had, or three thousand? Since we see that one or two of them being wounded, the rest immediately fly. Again, it being so difficult a Task to govern a few of them, so many thousands of them together, must needs intershock one another, where there is not room for their unwieldy over-grown Bodies either to stand or fly. As for my own Part, I have always had so mean an Opinion of them, that when I had 'em, I never thought 'em worth making use of, being fully convinced, they were more pernicious to those they were intended to serve, than to the Enemy. But perhaps it is the Multitude of Horse and Foot that terrifies you! as if you had been hitherto us'd to encounter but with small Numbers, and this was the first time you had stood the Brunt of a disorderly Rout! The River Grani-

cus is a sufficient Witness of the invincible Courage of the Macedonians against a superior Number, as well as Cilicia, which was drenched with the Blood of the Persians, and Arbela whose Plains were cover'd with the Bones of the conquer'd Enemy. It is too late to look at the Number of your Enemies, after you have laid waste all Asia by your Victories. You ought to have reflected on your small Number, when we pass'd the Hellespont; for at present the Scythians follow us, the Bactrians assist us, and the Dahæ and Sogdiani are engag'd in our Service. At the same time, I do not rely on this Rabble, it is you, Macedonians, I trust to, it is your unparallel'd Bravery and Courage I confide in, and is an infallible Pledge and Security for all the great Things I have yet to do. While I am at the Head of such gallant Men, I shall neither count the Number of my own, nor the Enemies Army: All that I require, is, that you'll shew me a cheerful Countenance, accompany'd with your usual Confidence and Alacrity. We are not now in the Beginning of our Work, but at the Close of it. We have already reach'd the Ocean, and the Bounds where the Sun rises, and unless your own Want of Spirit and Sloth, stand in the way, we shall return home with a compleat Conquest of the whole World. Do not imitate those bad Husbandmen, who through their Laziness, lose the Fruits of their Labour. The Reward is much greater than the Danger; the Countrey you are going to, abounds in Riches, and is at the same time weakly defended, so that I may be said to lead you not so much to Glory and Honour, as to a noble Booty. It is your due to carry back to your own Nation, the Wealth that Sea discharges on its Shore; it were a Shame you should leave any thing untry'd, or unattempted through Fear. I therefore not only beg of you, but conjure you by your own Glory, in which you exceed all the rest of
Mankind,

Mankind, by the Favours I have bestow'd upon you, and your own Merit towards me, in which noble Strife we are still contending, that you will not desert your Companion and Fellow Soldier, not to mention your King. What is past, has been done by my Authority, but for this I shall own my self indebted to you. At the same time that I ask this of you, you know that in all the Commands I have laid upon you, I always was the first to face the Danger, and have often protected you with my own Buckler. Do not therefore break the Palm you have put into my Hands, which if not blasted by Envy, will make me equal to Hercules and Bacchus. Grant me this single Request, and break your obstinate silence. What is become of that generous Shout, the usual token of your Alacrity? Where is that cheerful Countenance of my Macedonians? Methinks I hardly know you, Soldiers, neither do you seem to know me; but I speak to deaf Ears, and strive in vain to excite and animate the broken Courage of those whose Minds are alienated from me. As notwithstanding all this, they persisted still in their dejected Posture, hanging down their Heads; Wherein, said he, have I unwittingly offended you, that you do not at least vouchsafe to look at me? I fancy my self in a Wilderness, no Body answers me, no Body so much as gives me the Satisfaction of a flat Denial. Who do I speak to? What is it I request? It is your own Glory and Greatness we assert. Where are now those Men who not long ago were contending about the Prerogative of carrying their wounded King? I am forsaken, destitute and deliver'd up a prey to my Enemies. Be it as it will, I'll persevere in the Prosecution of my Design, tho' I march alone. Expose me to the Difficulties of Rivers, the Cruelty of Elephants, and to those Nations that strike you with so much Horror; I shall find those that will follow me, tho' you desert me. The

Scythians and Bactrians will accompany me, and they who were a while ago our Enemies, shall be now our Soldiers. I had rather die than reign precariously. Get you gone home, go and triumph for having abandon'd your King ; for my own part, I'll either get the Victory you despair of, or perish honourably.

C H A P. III.

ALL that he could say, could not force a single Word from any one of 'em. They expected that the Generals and chief Officers should represent to him, *That altho' their Bodies were cover'd with Wounds, and quite worn out with the continual Fatigues of their long Service, they did not refuse the Duties of the War, but were no longer able to discharge it.* However, being stupify'd with Fear, they kept their Eyes still fix'd upon the Ground. After some time there rose amongst 'em a voluntary Murmur, and their Grief by degrees began to shew it self more freely, till at last they burst all out in Tears ; so that the King himself (his Anger being now turn'd into Pity) could no longer forbear weeping. While the whole Assembly was thus dissolv'd in Tears, *Canus* took Courage and approach'd the Tribunal, intimating he had something to say. When the Soldiers saw him take off his Helmet (it being the Custom to do so, when they spoke to the King) they all begg'd of him, *That he would plead the Cause of the Army ;* he therefore express'd himself in the following manner: *May the Gods forbid all impious Thoughts in us, and sure they do at present. Your Soldiers have the same Inclination towards you which they always had, and are ready to go where-*
ever

ever you command them, to encounter with any Dangers for your sake, and to spill the last drop of their Blood to recommend your Name to Posterity. If therefore you insist upon it, tho' we are without Arms, naked and bloodless, if such be your Royal Will and Pleasure, we are not only ready to follow, but also to lead the way. But if your Majesty will vouchsafe to hear the unfeigned Representations of your Soldiers, forc'd from 'em by the last necessity; lend, we beseech you, a favourable Ear to those who have always chearfully obey'd your Commands, and shar'd your Fortune, and do not want Will to attend you wherever you shall think fit to go. Consider, Sir, that your great Performances have not only overcome your Enemies, but likewise your own Soldiers. We have done all that Mortals were capable of, and by frequent use are better acquainted with the Seas and Countreys than even the Inhabitants themselves. We may be said to stand now on the utmost Bounds of the World; but as if this were too little for your great Soul, you are preparing to march to another, and to seek out new Indies unknown to the Indians themselves. You are for forcing out of their lurking Retreats, those who have taken shelter with the Serpents and wild Beasts; in fine, you are for carrying your Victories farther than the Sun's piercing Eye can see. It must be own'd to be a thought worthy your unbounded Mind, but at the same time it is above ours; for your Courage and Bravery will ever be increasing, whereas our Strength is almost at an end. Behold our bloodless Bodies, cover'd over with Wounds, and disfigur'd with Scars. Our Weapons are blunted, and our Arms worn out. We are forc'd to wear the Persian Habit, because we are too remote to have that of our own Countrey brought to us, so that we are degenerated into a foreign Apparel. Who amongst us has a Breast-plate? Who has

a Horse left? Let a scrutiny be made how many of us have been able to be follow'd by our Servants, and what any of us has left of his Booty. Having conquer'd the World we are destitute of all things. It is not our Luxury is the cause of this, but we have worn out in the War the very Instruments of War. Can you find in your Heart to expose so gallant an Army naked, and without defence to the merciless fury of wild Beasts? Whose Multitude, tho' it be designedly magnify'd by the Barbarians, yet it is easie to gather from the very false Report it self, that the Number is great. If after all your Majesty is bent on penetrating still farther into India, that part of it that lies to the Southward is not so vast; which being subdu'd, you will extend your Conquests to that Sea that Nature has appointed for the Bounds of the World. Why should you go the round-about way to that Glory which is near at hand? For here the Ocean is to be found; and unless you take delight in wandering, we are already arriv'd where your Fortune intended to lead you. I chose rather to say these things in your presence, Sir, than in your absence confer about 'em with my fellow Soldiers; not designing thereby to ingratiate my self with the listening Army, but that you may rather hear their common Sentiments from my Mouth, than be troubled with their Groans and Murmurs. Cæsus having finish'd his Speech, there was heard from all Parts a clamorous Noise mix'd with Lamentations, which in confus'd Sounds call'd Alexander King, Father, and Sovereign Lord. Then the other Captains, especially the most ancient, who on the account of their Age were most to be excus'd, and had also thereby the greater Authority, made the same Request, so that the King was not able to chastise their Obstinacy, or mitigate their Anger. Being therefore unresolv'd what course to take, he leap'd from the Tribunal, and shut

shut *himself* up in *his* Tent, forbidding any to be admitted, except those who were us'd to be with him. Thus he sacrific'd two Days to *his* Passion, and the third *he* appear'd publicly again, and order'd twelve Altars to be erected of square Stone, to remain as a Monument of *his* Expedition. He also caus'd the Fortifications of *his* Camp to be extended, and Beds to be left of a larger Size than the ordinary Stature of Man requir'd, designing to impose upon Posterity by this excessive outward appearance of things.

This being done, *he* march'd back the same way *he* came, and encamp'd along the River *Acesines*. Here *Cenus* dy'd. The King was afflicted at his Death, yet could not forbear saying, *He had made a long Speech for the few Days he had to live, as if he alone had been to return to Macedonia.* By this time the Fleet *he* had order'd to be built, lay ready at Anchor; hither *Memnon* brought him six thousand *Thracian* Horse to recruit *his* Army, besides seven thousand Foot, which *Harpalus* had sent by him : He also brought twenty five thousand Arms finely adorn'd with Gold and Silver, which *Alexander* caus'd to be distributed amongst the Soldiers, commanding them to burn their old ones. Designing now to make towards the Ocean with a thousand Ships, *he* first reconcil'd *Porus* and *Taxiles*, the *Indian* Kings (who were about renewing their former Resentments) and having settled a good Understanding between them, *he* left them in their respective Dominions, they had both been serviceable to *him* in the building of *his* Fleet. He also built two Towns, one whereof *he* call'd *Nicaa*, and the other *Bucephela*, dedicating the latter to the Memory of his Horse, which was dead. Then having given Orders for the Elephants and Baggage to follow him by Land, *he* sail'd down the River, proceeding every Day near

four hundred Furlongs for the conveniency of landing *his* Forces in commodious Places.

C H A P. IV.

AT length he came into the Countrey where the *Hydaspes* falls into the *Acesines*; from whence *he* fell down the Confluence of these Rivers into the Territory of the *Sobij*. These People report, *That their Ancestors belong'd to Hercules's Army, but being sick were left here, where their Posterity has remain'd ever since.* They cloth'd themselves with the Skins of wild Beasts, and their Weapons were Clubs; and notwithstanding the *Greeks* manners were abolish'd amongst 'em, yet there were a great many Monuments still left, that sufficiently declar'd from whence they descended.

Here the *King* landed with *his* Army, and march'd two hundred and fifty Furlongs into the Countrey, which having pillag'd and laid waste, *he* took the Capital Sword in Hand. There were forty thousand Foot of another Nation drawn up along the River's side to oppose *his* landing, which however *he* effected, and put them to flight, and afterwards besieg'd the Town to which they had retir'd and took it by Storm; all that were able to bear Arms were put to the Sword, and the rest were sold. After this *he* lay down before another Place, where *he* was gallantly repuls'd by the Besieg'd, and lost a great many *Macedonians*; but when the Inhabitants found that *he* obstinately continu'd the Siege, despairing of their safety, they set fire to the Town, and cast their Wives, Children, and themselves into the Flames, which as they strove to feed and increase, the Enemy endeavour'd

deavour'd to extinguish ; so that here was a new Species of Contention and Strife, for the Inhabitants destroy'd the Town, and the Enemies defended it, so great a Change does War make even in the Laws of Nature. The Castle had receiv'd no Damage, and the King left a Garrison in it, after which *he* went round the same by Water, for it was encompass'd by three of the largest Rivers of all *India* (except the *Ganges*) which seem'd to lend their Streams for its Fortification. The *Indus* washes it on the North side, and on the South the *Acesines* mixes it self with the *Hydaspes*. The violent meeting of these Rivers makes their Waters as turbulent and rough as those of the Sea ; and as they carry a great deal of Mud along with them, which by their rapid Concourse is very much disturb'd, they leave but a narrow Channel for the Boats to pass in. *Alexander's* Fleet being therefore vehemently ply'd by the Waves both at Stem and on the sides, the Mariners began to furl their Sails, and endeavour to get off ; but they were so disorder'd by Fear, that the impetuous swiftness of the Rivers was too many for 'em, so that two of their largest Ships were lost in their fight : As for the small ones, tho' it was impossible also to govern them, they were driven upon the Shore, without receiving any Damage.

The Ship the *King* was in was carry'd by the furious force of the Current amongst the strongest Whirlpools, which hurrying the Ship along with their circular Motion, made the Rudder altogether useless. The *King* had stripp'd *himself*, and was just ready to leap into the River, and *his* Friends were swimming close by ready to receive *him* ; but it seem'd almost doubtful where was the greatest Danger, either in swimming or staying on board. The Mariners therefore ply'd their Oars with all the strength human Force could lend, to break the violence

violence of the Waves, which at last yielded to their importunate Labour, and the Ship was work'd out of these raging Gulphs; notwithstanding which they could not gain the Shore, but were stranded on the next Flats. One would have thought it had been a kind of Engagement with the River; *Alexander* therefore having erected three Altars, according to the Number of the Rivers, offer'd Sacrifices upon them, and then advanc'd thirty Furlongs.

From thence *he* march'd into the Countrey of the *Oxydrace* and the *Malli*, who tho' usually at War with one another, yet at this Juncture were united by the common Danger. They had got together an Army of ninety thousand Foot, ten thousand Horse, and nine hundred Chariots. The *Macedonians*, who thought they had pass'd thro' all their Dangers, finding a fresh War upon their Hands with the fiercest People of *India*, being struck with an unexpected Terror, began again to mutiny, and rail against the King, alledging, *that he would lately have compell'd them to pass the Ganges, and engage in a War with those strong populous Nations that lie beyond the same; which Enterprize tho' at last he desisted from, yet the War was not at an end, but only chang'd. That they were now expos'd to a savage People, that at the expence of their Blood they might open him a way to the Ocean. That they were dragg'd beyond the aspect of the Sun and Stars, and forc'd to those Places which Nature seem'd to have a mind to hide from Mortal Eyes. That as he supply'd 'em from time to time with new Arms, so they had continually fresh Enemies to encounter; which admitting that they overcame, what Reward had they to expect but thick Fogs and Darkness and an eternal Night that lay hovering on the deep; a Sea repleat with infinite Multitudes of hideous Monsters, and stagnating*

nating Waters, in which dying Nature seem'd to faint away ?

The King (tho' void of Fear *himself*) yet was in great Perplexity on the account of the uneasiness of *his* Army, and therefore having call'd 'em together, he gave 'em to understand, *That those People they so much dreaded were altogether raw and undisciplin'd ; that having overcome these Nations they would meet with no farther Obstacle to stop their Passage to the end of the World, and put a period to their Fatigues and Labours ; that he had, in Consideration of their Fear, desisted from his design of passing the Ganges, and conquering the Nations that lie beyond it, and had turn'd his Arms another way, where there was equal Glory and less Hazard ; that the Ocean was already within their sight, and refresh'd 'em with its cool breezes ; he begged therefore of 'em, that they would not envy him the Glory he so much coveted, since by passing the Bounds of Hercules and Bacchus they might at an easie rate make his Fame immortal ; at least he desir'd they would suffer him to lead 'em safely back out of India, and not retire like Fugitives.* It is the property of all Multitudes, and especially of the Military, to be carry'd away with small Motions, so that as a little matter raises a Sedition, it is also as easily appeas'd. There never was a more cheerful Shout given by the Army than at this time, desiring *him to lead 'em wherever he pleas'd, wishing the Gods to bless his Arms, that he might equal the Glory of those he rival'd.* Alexander was overjoy'd at these Acclamations, and therefore broke up immediately to advance towards the Enemy. They were the most warlike People of all the *Indians*, and were preparing to make a vigorous War, having made choice of a very brave General out of the *Oxydracan* Nation. He was also an experienc'd Soldier, and had pitch'd his Camp at
the

the foot of a Mountain, causing Fires to be made to a great distance, that his Army might thereby appear more numerous ; and would now and then alarm the *Macedonians* when at rest, by the sudden Cries and uncouth Howlings of his Men. As soon as it was light the *King*, full of Assurance and Hopes, order'd his Soldiers (who had now a cheerful Countenance) to take to their Arms, and put themselves in order of Battel ; but the *Barbarians*, either thro' Fear, or by reason of some Divisions among themselves, fled into the Mountains, the *King* pursuing them to no purpose ; however, *he* took their Baggage.

After this *he* advanc'd to the City of the *Oxydracans*, where a great Number had taken refuge, putting no less Confidence in the strength of the Place, than in their Arms. The *King* was just going to lie down before it, when a Soothsayer advis'd *him* to forbear, or at least delay the Siege, because *he* foresaw that his Life would be in danger. Hereupon the *King* looking upon *Demophoon* (for that was the Soothsayers Name) said to him, *If while thou art intent upon thy Art of Inspection any Body should interrupt thee, I do not doubt but thou wouldst think him impertinent and troublesome; which Demophoon agreeing to, Canst thou then imagine, reply'd the King, that when my Thoughts are taken up with Matters of the greatest Importance, and not with the Intrails of Beasts, there can be any thing more unseasonable than the Interruption of a superstitious Soothsayer ?* This said, *he* without any farther delay commanded the Ladders to be apply'd to the Wall, and while the rest were hesitating on the account of the Danger, *he* was the first that scal'd the Wall, whose Coping was very narrow and without Battlements, as there is commonly at the top, but was carry'd on with one continu'd Head, which defended

fended its Passage. Thus the *King* might be said rather to cleave to than stand upon the narrow Margin thereof, receiving in his Buckler the Darts with which he was on all sides warmly ply'd at a distance from the Towers, and the Soldiers were hinder'd from climbing up by the Clouds of Arrows that were shot at them from above. However, at last Shame overcame the greatness of the Danger, for they saw that by their delay the *King* would fall into the Hands of the Enemies; but their over eagerness prov'd a great hinderance to 'em, for as they all strove who should get up soonest, they so loaded the Ladders that they broke under 'em, and disappointed the *King* of the only hope he had; by this means standing in the sight of so numerous an Army, *he* might be said to be as destitute as if he had been in a Desert.

C H A P. V.

BY this time *his* left Arm (with which *he* held *his* Buckler) was tir'd with parrying the Strokes that were made at *him*, and his Friends cry'd out to *him* to leap down to them, who stood ready to receive *him*; but *he* instead thereof did what surpasses all belief, and serves rather to represent *his* Rashness than to increase *his* Glory, for with an unheard-of Temerity *he* leap'd into the Town amongst all *his* Enemies, tho' at the same time *he* could hardly propose to himself the Satisfaction of dying fighting; since before he could rise off the Ground, *he* might be over-power'd and taken alive. However, as good Fortune would have it, *he* so poiz'd *his* Body that he light upon his Feet, which gave *him* the advantage
of

of engaging the Enemy standing, and Providence had put it in *his* Power not to be surrounded. There was an old Tree not far from the Wall, whose Branches being thick cloth'd with Leaves, seem'd to extend themselves on purpose to protect the *King*; *he* therefore planted *himself* against that Tree, and with his Buckler receiv'd the Darts that were cast at *him*; for notwithstanding so many of them attack'd him alone at a distance, yet none dar'd to come to a close Engagement with *him*, and there fell more Darts amongst the Branches than on his Buckler.

In this Extremity *his* mighty Fame did *him* no small Service; then Despair prompted him to exert all his Bravery that he might die honourably, but as fresh Enemies continually flock'd about *him*, *his* Buckler was already loaded with Darts, and the Stones had broke *his* Helmet; at last tir'd with the continual Labour, *he* fell upon *his* Knees. Hereupon they who were nearest, suspecting no Danger, ran heedlessly upon *him*, two of which *he* presently kill'd with *his* Sword, after which no Body had the Courage to approach *him*, but they ply'd him afar off with their Darts and Arrows. Now as *he* was expos'd like a mark to all their Aims, it was a hard task in that disadvantageous Posture to protect *his* Body, so that an *Indian* let fly an Arrow at *him* two Cubits long (for the *Indians* Arrows as we said before were of this length) which pierc'd *his* Armour a little above *his* Right Side. Having receiv'd this Wound, there issu'd out of it so great a quantity of Blood, that *he* let fall *his* Arms like one expiring, not having strength enough left to pull out the Arrow. *He* therefore who had wounded *him* being transported with Joy, ran in to strip his Body; but *Alexander* no sooner felt his Hand touch *him* than (as I suppose disdainng to bear this last Indignity) *he*

he summon'd together *his* departing Spirits, and plung'd *his* Sword into *his* Enemies naked Side.

Thus three of the Enemies lay dead about the *King*, the rest keeping at a Distance like Men stupefy'd. In the mean time, *Alexander* (who covet'd to yield up *his* last Breath fighting) endeavour'd to raise *himself* up with *his* Buckler, but finding *he* had not Strength enough left for that purpose, *he* took hold of some of the impending Boughs, and try'd to get up by their Assistance, but not having Strength sufficient to support his Body, *he* fell down again upon *his* Knees threatening *his* Enemies with *his* Hand, and provoking any of 'em to a close Fight. At last *Peucestes* having beat off the Enemy in another part of the Town, kept along the Wall till he came where the *King* was, who look'd upon him rather as a Comfort in *his* dying Hour, than any way able to save *his* Life; however, *he* rais'd *himself* with his Help, upon *his* Buckler; then came *Timaus*, and soon after *Leonnatus*, and after him *Aristonius*. When the *Indians* were inform'd, that the *King* was within their Walls, they abandon'd the other Places, and flock'd all thither where *he* was, and press'd hard upon those who defended *him*. Of these *Timaus* (after a gallant Behaviour, having receiv'd a great many Wounds before) was kill'd: As for *Peucestes*, notwithstanding he was pierc'd thro' with three Darts, yet he continu'd to defend the *King's* Person, unmindful of himself; and *Leonnatus* whilst he repell'd the *Barbarians*, who came upon them in great Numbers, receiv'd a grievous Blow on the Neck, and fell down at the *King's* Feet half dead. By this time *Peucestes* had lost so much Blood, that he was no longer able to support his Buckler: Thus all the Hope was now in *Aristonius*, but as he was also desperately wounded, what could be expected from him against so great

great a Multitude ? In the mean time, the Rumour that the *King* was kill'd, reach'd the *Macedonians*. What would have terrify'd others, only serv'd to excite their Courage the more ; for-now, without having the least Regard to the Danger, they broke down the Wall with their Pick-Axes, and having enter'd the Town, made a mighty Slaughter of the *Indians*, who rather thought of saving themselves by Flight, than of making any great Resistance. They spar'd neither the Aged, the Women, nor the Children ; for they look'd upon whomsoever they met, to be the Person that had wounded their *King*, till at last by an universal Slaughter of the Enemy, they satisfied their Anger. *Clitarchus* and *Timagenes* relate, That *Ptolemæus* (*who was afterwards King*) was present at this Action : But he himself (who most certainly would not deny what would have redounded so much to his Glory) has left it in writing, That he was absent, being employ'd in another Expedition. So great was the Assurance of those that transmitted to Posterity those ancient Histories, or their Credulity, which is no less a Fault ! The *King* being brought into his Tent, the Chirurgeons very dextrously cut off the woody Part of the Javelin that stuck in his Body, without stirring the Iron-head of it ; which, upon laying his Body naked, they found to be bearded, so that there was no other way to take it out safely, but by opening the Wound. But here again they were afraid of too great a Profusion of Blood, for the Javelin was large, and seem'd to penetrate into the noble Parts. *Critobulus*, who of all the Chirurgeons was the most experienced, was nevertheless timorous in so dangerous a Case, and unwilling to be concern'd, lest his own Life should be in Danger if the Cure did not answer Expectation. The *King* perceiving him to weep, and
discovering

discovering the anxious Solicitude he was in, by the Paleness of his Countenance, ask'd him, *What he waited for, and why he delay'd freeing him at least from the Pain he was in, since it was impossible to save his Life? Dost thou fear being thought guilty, if thou dost not cure an incurable Wound?* Hereupon Critobulus being freed from his Fear, or else dissembling it, begg'd of him, *that he would suffer himself to be held, till he drew out the Iron-head; because the least Motion of his Body during the Operation, would be of dangerous Consequence.* But the King told him, *He did not want to be held, neither need he fear his stirring,* and accordingly kept *his* Body as *he* was order'd, without the least Motion. The Wound therefore being laid open, and the Head taken out, there succeeded so vast an Effusion of Blood, that the King fainted away, and lay extended like a dead Man. All Means were us'd to stanch the Blood, but to no purpose, so that the King's Friends broke out into Lamentations, believing him to be really dead. However, at last the Bleeding was stop'd, and by degrees *he* came to *himself*, and began to know those that were about *him*. All that Day, and the Night following, the Army was under Arms about his Tent, they all confess'd, that their Lives depended on his single Breath, neither could they be prevail'd upon to withdraw, till they were inform'd he was fallen into a Sleep; after which, they returned to their Camp with more certain Hopes of *his* Recovery.

C H A P. VI.

THE King having employ'd seven Days in the Care of *his* Wound, tho' it was not quite heal'd up, yet being inform'd, *That it was generally reported among the Barbarians, that he was dead, he caus'd two Ships to be fasten'd together, and his Tent to be pitch'd in the midst thereof, that he might from thence shew himself to all those who believ'd him dead.* Thus being expos'd to the View of all the Inhabitants, *he stiff'd the Hopes the Enemy had entertain'd from the false Rumour.*

From hence *he sail'd down the River, having first given Orders to the rest of the Fleet to follow him at a certain Distance, lest the Noise of the Oars should hinder him from that Rest that was yet necessary to his infirm Body.* On the fourth Day after *he embark'd, he arriv'd in a Countrey abandon'd by its Inhabitants, but very fruitful in Corn, and abounding with Cattle.* This Place seem'd proper both to confirm *his* own Health, and rest *his* Army. Now it was a Custom among the *Macedonians*, for the most considerable of the *King's* Friends, and those who had the Guard of his Person, to do Duty before the Royal Tent when he was indispos'd, which Practice being at this time observ'd, they all enter'd his Appartment together. The *King* was not a little surpriz'd at their general Appearance, and began to be in Pain lest some unforeseen Accident had happen'd, and therefore enquir'd of them, *Whether there was any fresh Account of the Enemies Approach?* Then *Craterus* on whom they had pitch'd to speak in the Behalf of them all, express'd himself in the following manner. *Can you imagine, Sir, we could be so alarm'd at the Approach of an Enemy, tho' they*

they were already within our Line, as we are really concern'd for your own Safety, especially when we see you your self so little regard it? Were all the Nations in the World to conspire against us; were they to cover the whole Earth with Men and Arms, and the Seas with Fleets, we are satisfy'd we are invincible while you are at the Head of us. But which of all the Gods can ensure us of this main Support and propitious Star of the Macedonians, when you so eagerly expose your precious Person to such manifest Dangers, unmindful of the great Number of Citizens who intirely depend upon your Fate? Who amongst us, either desires to survive you, or can? We are advanc'd so far already under your Conduct and Command, that it is impossible for any but your self, to lead us home. Were you still contending with Darius for the Empire of Persia, no Body could wonder you expos'd your self so resolutely on all Occasions (tho' at the same time it would be against our Wills) for where there is any Equality between the Danger and the Reward, the Fruit thereof is greater upon Success, as is also the Consolation upon a Miscarriage. But that a sorry Town should be purchas'd at so dear a rate as your Life, who can bear the Thoughts of it, either of your own Soldiers, or of the Barbarians that has any Knowledge of your Greatness? My Soul is struck with Horror, when I reflect on what we all lately beheld. I cannot without trembling, relate how near your invincible Person was being stripp'd by the Hands of the vilest Wretches, if Fortune had not been so favourable to us, as by Miracle almost to save you. We can be counted no better than Traytors and Deserters all of us, who could not follow you, neither will any of us refuse to make any Satisfaction for the Crime we could not help being guilty of. If we are not worthy your high Esteem, at least do us the Favour to shew your Contempt
another

another way. We are ready to march wherever you please to command us. Leave us those mean and inglorious Actions, and preserve your self for those noble Occasions that are worthy your Greatness. That Glory that results from sordid Enemies, soon loses its Lustre, and there cannot be any thing more unworthy your illustrious self, than to be prodigal of your Bravery, where it cannot appear in its full Splendor. Ptolemy and the rest spoke much to the same purpose, and all of them together intreated him to set some Bounds at last, to that Excess of Glory with which he was in a manner loaded; and for the future to have a greater Regard to his Safety, on which that of the Publick depended. The King was very well pleas'd with these Testimonials of their Zeal, and having embrac'd them every one singly, after a more familiar manner than usual, he bid them sit down. Then taking into Consideration their foregoing Speech, he said to them, My most faithful and most zealous Citizens and Friends, I return you my hearty Thanks, not only that you at this time prefer my Safety to your own, but also, that from the Beginning of the War you have let slip no Opportunity of testifying your dutiful and benevolent Disposition towards me; so that I must confess, Life was never dearer to me than it is at present, and that chiefly, that I may long enjoy you. At the same time I must let you know, that how willing soever you may be to lay down your Lives for me (which Inclination I have deserv'd, only by that Bravery you now blame) your Thoughts and mine are very different. For you covet to reap the Fruits of my Favour a long time, nay, perhaps for ever: Whereas I measure my self not by the Time I have liv'd, but by the Glory I have acquir'd. Had I been contented with my paternal Inheritance, I might within the Bounds of Macedonia, have spun out my Life in Obscurity

rity and Idleness, to an inglorious old Age: Tho' it must be own'd too, that even the Slothful and Lazy, are not Masters of their own Destiny; for while they place their supreme Happiness in a long Life, they are frequently cut off by some unexpected, unrelenting Death. But as for my self, who do not reckon my Years, but my Victories; if I rightly compute the Gifts of Fortune, I have already liv'd a long time. For having begun my Empire in Macedonia, I made my self Master of Greece; I subdu'd the Thracians and Illyrians; I give Laws to the Triballi, and the Medes; I am in Possession of Asia, from the Hellespont to the Red-Sea; and at present, am not far from the End of the World, which as soon as I have pass'd, I design to open my self a new one, and if possible, discover another Nature. I pass'd from Europe to Asia, in so short a time as that of an Hour. Having conquer'd both Countreys in the ninth Year of my Reign, and in the nine and twentieth Year of my Age. Do you think I can make any Stop in my full Career after Glory, to which alone I have entirely devoted my self? No, believe me, I shall never be wanting to her on my Part, and wheresoever I shall fight, I shall imagine my self to be on the Theatre of the whole World. Those Places that have been hitherto obscure, shall become famous through my Means: I'll open a Passage to all Nations, to those Countreys Nature has plac'd at the remotest Distance. If while I am employ'd in the Execution of these great Things, it be my Lot to be kill'd, What can be more for my Reputation? I am descended from such a Stock, that I ought to covet rather to live much, than long. Let me recommend to your Reflection, that we are come into those Countreys where the very Women are celebrated for their Virtue. What Cities Semiramis has built! What Nations did she subdue! What mighty Works did she accomplish! We have

not yet equall'd the glorious Performances of a Woman, and shall we already be seiz'd with a Satiety of Praise? No, no, let the Gods but favour us, and we have much greater things yet to do, than we have done. But the ready way to conquer all those Countreys we have not yet touch'd, is to esteem nothing little, where there is a great deal of Glory to be got. Do you but defend me from intestine Mischief, and domestick Conspiracies, and I shall undauntedly face all the Dangers of the War. Philip was safer in the Field than in the Theatre; he had often escaped the Hands of his profess'd Enemies, but could not at last secure himself from the Treachery of his Subjects. And if you examine into the Death of other Kings, you shall find more kill'd by their own People, than by the Enemy. Before I conclude this Speech, I shall lay hold of the present Opportunity to disclose to you a thing which I for a considerable time have had in my Thoughts: Know then that I shall look upon it as the greatest Reward of all my Labours, and chiefest Fruit of my Victories, if when my Mother Olympias dies, she be plac'd among the Gods. If I am living, I shall discharge that Duty my self, but if I die before her, remember what I now commit to your Care. Having made this Speech, he dismiss'd the Company, but remain'd several Days in this Camp.

C H A P. VII.

WHILE these Things were doing in India, the Greek Soldiers (whom the King had settl'd in and about *Bactra*) thro' a Sedition that happen'd among 'em, rebell'd, not so much out of ill Will to *Alexander*, as for Fear of Punishment; for having kill'd some of their Compani-
ons,

ons, they who were the strongest had Recourse to Arms, and having made themselves Masters of the Citadel of *Bactra*, which was but negligently guarded, they drew the *Barbarians* also into their Party. *Athenodorus* was their Leader, who had also assum'd the Title of *King*; not so much out of an Ambition to reign, as out of a Desire to return into his native Countrey with those who own'd his Authority. But one *Bicon* of the same Nation, envying his Power, conspir'd against him, and having invited him to an Entertainment, caus'd him to be kill'd by *Boxus* a *Macerianian*. The Day following, *Bicon* in a general Assembly, perswaded the major Part of it, that *Athenodorus* had entertain'd a Design against his Life, which oblig'd him to be before-hand with him. However, others suspected his treacherous Designs, and by Degrees this Suspicion spread it self among the rest. The *Greek* Soldiers therefore take to their Arms, intending to kill *Bicon* if they had an Opportunity: But the Chief amongst 'em, appeas'd the Anger of the Multitude. Thus *Bicon* being contrary to his Expectation freed from the present Danger, in a little time conspir'd against the Authors of his Safety: But the Treachery taking Vent, they seiz'd both him and *Boxus*. *Boxus* was put to Death immediately, and *Bicon* was reserv'd to die upon the Rack. Now it happen'd, that just as they were going to torment him, the *Greek* Soldiers (without any known Cause) ran to their Arms like mad Men; so that they who had Orders to torment him, hearing the sudden Up-roar, desisted from their Office, imagining they were forbid to execute the same by this tumultuous Outcry. Hereupon he ran naked as he was to the *Greeks*, who beholding him in this wretched Condition, were touch'd with Compassion for him, and order'd him to be set at Liberty. Ha-

ving thus twice escap'd dying, he return'd into his native Countrey with the rest of those who leit the Colonies allotted them by the *King*. This is what happen'd about *Bactra*, and the Borders of *Scythia*.

In the mean time, a hundred Ambassadors came to the *King* from the two Nations we before mentioned. They all rid in Chariots, were very tall, and handsome Personages, clad in linen Garments embroider'd with Gold, and a Mixture of Purple. They told *him*, *They deliver'd up to him themselves, their Towns and Territories: That he was the first they ever intrusted their Liberty with, which they had for so many Ages preserv'd inviolate. That the Gods were the Authors of their Submission, and not Fear; which might appear from hence, that they took his Yoke upon them, without making any Trial of their Strength.* Hereupon the *King* having deliberated with his Council, took them into his Protection, enjoining them the same Tribute they pay'd to the *Arachosians*; besides which, *he* commanded them to supply *him* with two thousand five hundred Horse, all which was punctually perform'd by the *Barbarians*.

After this, *he* gave Orders for a great Entertainment, to which *he* invited these Ambassadors, and the little *Kings*. Here were a hundred Beds of Gold set at a moderate distance from each other. These Beds were encompass'd with rich Tapestries glittering with Gold and Purple: In fine, at this Banquet *he* display'd all the ancient Luxury of the *Persians*, together with the new Inventions of the corrupted *Macedonians*, intermixing the Vices of both Nations.

Among the rest that were at this Feast, was *Dioxippus* the *Athenian*, a famous Wrestler, who on the account of his prodigious Strength, was well known to the *King*, and much in *his* Fa-

vour. Some envious and malicious Persons reproach'd *Dioxippus* betwixt Jest and Earnest, *That he was a fat, over-grown, useless Monster; and that while they were engag'd in Battels, he was only employ'd in anointing his Body with Oil, and preparing himself for a fresh Meal.* *Horratas a Macedonian*, was one of them that us'd these reviling Expressions to him, and being drunk, *challeng'd him to fight him with his Sword the next Day, and that the King should be judge either of his Temerity, or Dioxippus's Cowardice.* This latter accepted the Condition, and in a scornful manner play'd upon the other's military Fierceness. The King finding them the next Day more eager for the Trial of Skill than the Day before, suffer'd 'em to fight. On this Occasion there was a great Concurrence of the Soldiers, and among the rest of the Greeks, who were Well-wishers to *Dioxippus*. The *Macedonian* appear'd compleatly arm'd, holding in his Left-hand his brazen Buckler and long Spear, and in his Right a Javelin, with his Sword by his Side, as if he had been to engage with several at the same time. As for *Dioxippus*, he shin'd with Oil with which he was anointed, having a Garland on his Head, and a scarlet Cloak wrapt about his Left-arm, and in his Right a strong knotty Club. The different Appearance rais'd a mighty Expectation in the Spectators, for it seem'd Madness, and not Temerity, for a naked Man to engage with one compleatly arm'd. The *Macedonian* therefore no wise doubting but he could kill him at a distance, cast his Javelin at him, which *Dioxippus* avoided by a small Inclination of his Body, and before the other could shift his long Spear into his Right-hand, leap'd into him, and broke it with his Club: The *Macedonian* having lost both his other Weapons, began now to draw his Sword, but *Dioxippus* closing in with him, struck up his Heels

and pitch'd his Head against the Ground, and having taken his Sword from him, clapp'd his Foot upon his Neck, and was just going to dash his Brains out with his Club, if he had not been hinder'd by the *King*.

The Event of this Spectacle was neither grateful to the *Macedonians* nor *Alexander* himself; for he was afraid lest the so much boasted Bravery of the *Macedonians* should thereby fall into Contempt. This made him listen a little too much to the Accusations of the Invidious. A few Days after at a Feast, they by Agreement took away a Golden Cup: The Officers pretending to miss it, came to the *King* and complain'd they had lost what they had only hid. Oftentimes there is less Constancy in the Countenance than in the Offence it self. *Dioxippus* was not able to bear the Cast of their Eyes, by which he was hinted to be the Thief; and therefore going away from the Entertainment, he writ a Letter to the *King*, and then kill'd himself. The *King* was concern'd at his Death, looking upon it to proceed from Indignation and not Repentance; for it appear'd plain enough that he was falsely accus'd, by the excessive Joy of his Enemies.

C H A P. VIII.

THE *Indian* Ambassadors being dismiss'd, went home, and in a few Days return'd again with Presents for *Alexander*, which consisted of three hundred Horses, one thousand and thirty Chariots, each drawn by four Horses, some linen Garments, a thousand *Indian* Bucklers, and one hundred Talents of Tin, with tame Lions and Tigers of

of an extraordinary Size, as also the Skins of very large Lizards, and Tortoise-shells.

The King then commanded *Craterus* to march the Army at no great distance from the River on which he was to sail; after which embarking with those who were us'd to accompany him, he came down the Stream into the Territory of the *Malli*: From whence he march'd towards the *Sabrace*, who are a powerful Nation, not govern'd by Kingly Authority, but that of the People. They had got together sixty thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse, which were follow'd by five hundred Chariots. They had made choice of three Generals of great Experience in military Matters, but when such of 'em as inhabited near the River (the Bank whereof was full of Villages) perceiv'd the whole River cover'd with Ships as far as they could see, and beheld the shining Arms and Armour of so many thousand Men, they were amaz'd at the novelty of the sight, and believ'd that some Army of the Gods was come amongst 'em, or else another *Bacchus*, for that Name was famous in these Parts. The Soldiers Shouts, and the noise of the Oars, together with the confus'd Voices of the Mariners encouraging one another, so fill'd their fearful Ears, that they all ran to the Army, crying out, *that they were mad to offer to contend with the Gods; that it was impossible to number the Ships that carry'd these invincible Men.* By which Words they spread such a general Fear throughout their whole Army, that they immediately dispatch'd Ambassadors to *Alexander*, to yield up their Nation to him.

Having taken them into his Protection, he came the fourth Day into another Countrey, the People whereof had no more Courage than the former; here he built a City, which he order'd to be call'd

Alexandria, and then enter'd into the Territory of the *Muscani*.

While *he* was here *he* heard the Complaints of the *Paropamisada* against *Terialtes*, whom *he* had made their Governor, and finding him convicted of several Irregularities thro' his Avarice and Pride, he sentenc'd him to suffer Death. At the same time *Oxatres*, who was Prætor of the *Bactrians*, was not only discharg'd of what was alledg'd against him, but had also the extent of his Government enlarg'd. Having subdu'd the Countrey of the *Muscani*, *he* put a Garrison into their Capital, and from thence advanc'd against the *Prasti*, who are also a People of *India*. *Oxycanus* was their King, and had, with a great Body of Men, retir'd into a strong City. However, *Alexander* took it the third Day after he lay down before it. The Town being taken, *Oxycanus* fled into the Castle, and sent Ambassadors to the King to treat about the Terms of his surrender; but before they could reach the King two of the Towers were beat down, thro' the breach of which the *Macedonians* got into the Castle, which being taken, *Oxycanus*, with a few more that made Resistance, was kill'd.

Having demolish'd the Castle, and sold all the Captives, *he* march'd into the Territories of King *Sabus*, where several Towns submitted to him; but *he* took the strongest City by a subterraneous Passage which he had carry'd on within the Place. The *Barbarians* who were unskill'd in military Affairs, were amaz'd to see Men rise out of the Ground in the middle of their Town, without being able to trace the Way they came. *Clitarchus* says there were fourscore thousand *Indians* slain in this Countrey, and a great Number of Captives sold as Slaves. The *Muscani* in the
mean

mean time rebell'd, and *Pithon* was sent to suppress them, who accordingly did so, and brought the Prince of the Nation (who was also the Author of the Revolt) Prisoner to the *King*, who order'd him to be Crucify'd, and then return'd to the River where *his* Fleet waited for *him*. The fourth Day after *he* came to a Town which leads into the Dominions of King *Sabus*. He had lately submitted to *Alexander*, but the Inhabitants refus'd to obey him, and shut the Gates against him; however, the *King* despising their small Number commanded *five hundred Agrians* to approach the Walls of the Place, and retiring by little and little to draw the Enemy out of the Town, who he concluded would not fail to pursue 'em, if they once were persuaded that they fled. The *Agrians*, according to the Orders they had receiv'd, having provok'd the Enemy took to their Heels, and were pursu'd so closely by the *Indians*, that these last fell into a fresh Body where the *King* was in Person. Then the fight was renew'd, and out of three thousand *Barbarians* five hundred were kill'd, a thousand taken Prisoners, and the rest got back again to the Town; but the issue of this Victory was not so favourable as at first was expected, for the *Barbarians* had poison'd their Swords, so that those who were wounded died suddenly, the Physicians not being able to find out the Cause of so present a Death, the slightest Wounds being incurable. The *Indians* were in hopes that the *King*, who was rash, and regardless of his own Safety, might have been involv'd in that Danger, but notwithstanding *he* fought amongst the foremost, yet *he* escap'd unwounded.

Ptolemy indeed gave him great uneasiness on the account of a Wound he had receiv'd in the left Shoulder, which tho' light in it self, was by reason of the Poyson of dangerous Consequence.

He was related to the *King*, and some believ'd *Philip* was his Father ; it is certain he was born of one of his Mistresses. He was one of the *King's* Body Guards, and a very brave Soldier ; however, he was still more excellent in the Arts of Peace, was moderate in his Apparel, very Liberal, and easie of Access, having nothing of that haughtiness that seems natural to those who are descended from Royal Blood : These Qualities made it doubtful whether he was more lov'd by the *King*, or those of his Nation. It was on this Occasion that the *Macedonians* first express'd their general Affection for him, which seem'd to presage the future Grandeur to which afterwards he rais'd himself ; for they had no less care of his Health than the *King*, who being fatigu'd with the Battle, and full of solicitude for *Ptolemy*, by whom he sat, order'd his Bed to be brought where he was, into which he was no sooner got than he fell into a profound Sleep. As soon as he wak'd, he told those who were present, *That while he was at rest he dream'd a Dragon brought an Herb to him in its Mouth, as a proper Remedy against the Poison ; he describ'd the Colour of the Herb, and assur'd them, he should know it again if any of them should chance to find it.* As a great many were employ'd to seek it, some of them found it, and having brought it to him, he apply'd it himself to the Wound, the pain whereof ceas'd immediately, and in a short time the Wound was perfectly heal'd. The *Barbarians* finding themselves disappointed of their first hopes, surrendred both themselves and City. From hence *Alexander* march'd into the next Province call'd *Parthalia*, *Maris* was King of it, who having abandon'd the Town was fled into the Mountains ; *Alexander* therefore took Possession of the Place, and plunder'd the Countrey, carrying off a great Booty of Sheep

Sheep and Cattle, besides a great quantity of Corn. After this *he* made choice of Guides who knew the River, and sail'd down it to an Island that stood almost in the middle of the Channel.

C H A P. IX.

HERE *he* was oblig'd to make a longer stay than *he* at first propos'd, because the Guides being carelessly look'd after were fled ; *he* therefore sent to seek after others, but none being to be found, the strong desire *he* had to see the Ocean, and to reach the utmost Bounds of the World, made *him* commit *his* own Life, and the safety of so many gallant Men to an unknown River, without Guides. Thus they sail'd altogether ignorant of the Places they pass'd by ; how far the Sea was distant from them ; what People inhabited the Coasts ; the Nature of the Mouth of the River ; or, whether it were proper for their long Ships ; for all which they had only their own blind and uncertain Conjecture. The only comfort in this *his* Temerity, was his constant Felicity. Having proceeded after this manner for the space of four hundred Furlongs, the Pilots acquainted *him*, *That they began to be sensible of the Air of the Sea, and that they did not believe the Ocean could be far off.* He was overjoy'd at this News, and encourag'd the Mariners to ply their Oars, assuring the Soldiers, *They were near attaining what they all had so long wish'd for, viz. an end of their Labours ; that now their Glory would be perfect, nothing being left to withstand their Bravery ; that without any farther Danger or Bloodshed the whole World would be their own ; that their Exploits would equal the*

utmost extent of Nature ; and that they would behold in a little time what was only known to the immortal Gods. However, he set a small Detachment ashore, in order to take some of the straggling Natives, hoping to get from them a thorough Information of all things. After a long search they found some who lay lurking in their Huts. These being ask'd, *How far the Sea was off ?* made answer, *That they never had heard of any such thing as the Sea, but in three Days time they would come to a brackish Water which corrupted the fresh.* It was plain, that by this Description they meant the Sea, whose Nature they did not understand ; hereupon the Mariners with fresh Alacrity ply their Oars, and every Day the nearer they grew to their Hopes, the greater was their vigor.

On the third Day they perceiv'd that the Sea began to mingle its Water with that of the River, and by a gentle Tide confound their different Streams ; here they discover'd another Island, situate in the very middle of the River, to which they could approach but slowly, because the course of the Tide ran against them : Being landed they ran about to lay in Provisions, not dreaming of the Misfortune that was ready to fall upon 'em. About three of the Clock the Tide, according to its ordinary Course, began to pour in strongly, and force back the Current of the River. At first it seem'd in a manner but to struggle with it, but running still higher and higher, it drove it back with such impetuosity that its retrograde Course exceeded the rapidity of the swiftest Torrents. The generality of them were intirely ignorant of the Nature of the Sea, so that they look'd upon it to be ominous, and a certain indication of the Anger of the Gods ; but, to their greater Terror, the Sea, by its repeated workings swell'd so high as to overflow the neighbouring Plains, which before

fore were dry, and as the Flux increas'd, the Ships were rais'd higher, till at last the Fleet was dispers'd. They who had been sent ashore, surpriz'd at the Suddenness of the Accident, repair'd to their Ships with the greatest Precipitation; but in all tumultuary Assemblies, Haste is of pernicious Consequence. Some endeavour'd to get on board, by the means of long hook'd Poles; others, while they place themselves, interrupt the Rowers; some again try to make the best of their way, but not waiting the Arrival of those who were absolutely necessary for their purpose, found it a difficult matter to navigate those heavy and unwieldy Ships; at the same time other Boats were not able to contain the Multitude of those that inconsiderately flock'd into 'em; so that the Crowd in this case, was as detrimental as the Want of Hands in the other. Some cry'd out to stay, others to make off; which Confusion of Orders, not tending to the same purpose, not only took away the Use of their Eyes, but also of their Ears. The Pilots at this Juncture were likewise useless, their Directions not being heard in so great a Tumult, nor obey'd, by reason of the Fright. The Ships now begin to fall foul upon one another, and the Oars are broke: In fine, the Disorder was so great, that no Body could have imagin'd it to be the Fleet of the same Army, but a Sea Engagement between two Fleets that were Enemies. The Stems of some Ships were forc'd against the Sterns of others, and the Damage that was done to those that were foremost, was again receiv'd from those that came after; at last from high Words they came to Blows. By this time the Inundation had spread it self over all the Fields in the Neighbourhood of the River, the Hills only appearing above the Water, and carrying the Resemblance of so many small Islands, whither several betook themselves.

selves by swimming, out of Fear abandoning their Ships.

While the Fleet was scatter'd here and there, some Ships riding in deep Water where the Valleys sunk low, others being stranded on the Shoals, according to the Inequality of the Surface of the Ground the Water possess'd, they were suddenly surpriz'd with another Terror greater than the first; For when the Sea began to ebb, it carry'd back the Waters from whence they came, and restor'd the Land they had cover'd but a little before. The Ships being thus left upon the dry Land, pitch'd some upon their Stems, while others fell upon their Sides. The Fields were cover'd with Baggage, Arms, broken Planks and Oars. The Soldiers were so terrify'd, that they neither dar'd trust themselves on the Land, nor remain on board, expecting in a little time greater Evils than those they had already experienc'd. They could hardly believe what they saw and suffer'd; *viz.* a Shipwreck upon the Land, and the Sea in a River. But their Trouble did not end here, for as they were ignorant that the Tide would in a little time return, and set their Ships a-float again, they expected nothing but Famine and the utmost Calamities. Besides, they were seiz'd with Horror at the Sight of so many monstrous Creatures the Sea had left behind it. The Night now began to draw on, and the desperate Circumstances fill'd the *King* himself with Concern; but no Care could get the better of *his* invincible Courage: *He* remain'd all the Night upon the Watch, giving *his* Orders, and sent some Horsemen to the Mouth of the River, to bring *him* Word when the Tide began to return. In the mean time, *he* caus'd the shatter'd Ships to be refitted, and those that were overturn'd, to be set right again. This whole Night being spent in watching and encouraging *his* Men,

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the Horsemen came back upon full speed, and the Tide at their Heels; at first it came in gently upon 'em, till encreasing by degrees it rais'd the Ships; then overflowing all the Fields as before, it set the whole Fleet in Motion.

Hereupon the Banks of the River and Coasts rung with the Shouts of the Sailors and Soldiers, who were transported with Joy at their unexpected Safety. They now with Wonder enquir'd of one another, *from whence this vast Sea could return so suddenly? Whither it could retire the Day before? What could be the Nature of this Element, that was sometimes so rebellious, and at others, so subject to the Empire of Time?* The King conjectured by what had happen'd, that the Tide would return after the Sun's rising; *he* therefore to prevent it, set out at Midnight, and sail'd down the River, attended by a few Ships, and having pass'd thro' the Mouth of it, advanc'd four hundred Furlongs into the Sea, obtaining at last what he had so long wish'd for; then having sacrific'd to the tutelar Gods of the Sea, and adjacent Places, *he* return'd back to his Fleet.

CHAP. X.

THEN *he* sail'd up the River, and came to an Anchor the Day following, not far from a Salt Lake, the Nature whereof being unknown to *his* Men, deceiv'd a great many, who rashly ventur'd to bath themselves therein: For their Bodies broke out into Scabs, which being contagious, communicated the Distemper to their Companions, but Oil prov'd a present Remedy for this Evil. *He* afterwards sent *Leonatus* before to dig Wells in the Countrey thro' which *he* was to pass with his Army (for it was naturally dry and destitute

stitute of Water;) and *he* remain'd with his Forces where *he* was, expecting the Return of the Spring. In the mean time, *he* built several Cities, and commanded Nearchus and one Sicritus, very skillful Seamen, to sail with the strongest Ships into the Ocean, and to advance as far as they could with Safety, in Order to inform themselves of the Nature of the Sea; which having done, they might return to him either by the same River, or by the Euphrates.

The Winter being now pretty well over, *he* burn'd those Ships which were useles to *him*, and march'd *his* Army by Land. In nine Encampments *he* came into the Countrey of the *Arabita*, and from thence in nine Days more, into that of the *Gedrosij*. These were a free People; however, having held a Council upon the Matter, they submitted to *him*, and *he* laid no other Injunctions upon them, but to supply *his* Army with Provisions.

From hence in five Days *he* came to a River call'd by the Inhabitants *Arabus*, beyond which, there lies a barren Countrey very destitute of Water; which having march'd through, *he* arriv'd at the Territories of the *Horita*. Here *he* gave *Hephastion* the greatest Part of the Army, and divided the remaining Part, which consisted of the light-arm'd Troops, between *Ptolemy*, *Leonnatus* and *himself*. In this manner, they ravag'd *India* in three distinct Bodies, and carry'd off a great Booty. *Ptolemy* wasted the maritime Countrey; the *King* destroy'd the midland part, and *Leonnatus* the rest. *He* also built a City here, and peopled it with *Arachosians*.

From hence *he* came to those *Indians* who inhabit the Maritime Parts: They are possess'd of a large Extent of Countrey, but it is very barren and desolate, so that they hold no manner of Commerce

Commerce with their Neighbours. Their Solitude adds very much to their otherwise savage Nature: They never pair their Nails, nor cut their Hair. They adorn their Cottages with the Shells and other Refuse of the Sea. Their Clothes are made of the Skins of wild Beasts, and they feed upon Fishes dry'd in the Sun, and other Monsters that the Sea casts upon the Shore.

The *Macedonians* having consum'd all their Provisions, first endur'd a Scarcity, and afterwards Extremity of Hunger, so that they were forc'd to have Recourse to the Roots of the Palm-Tree, which they every where sought for, it being the only Tree the Countrey produces. But this Food failing 'em too, they began to kill their Beasts of Burthen, not sparing even their Horses. Thus wanting wherewith to carry their Baggage, they burnt those rich Spoils for which they had march'd to the utmost Extremity of the East. The Plague succeeded the Famine, for the new Juices of their unwholesom Food, together with the Fatigue of their Marches, and their Grief and Anxiety of Mind, had caus'd several Distempers amongst 'em; so that they could neither stop nor go forwards without certain Mischief. If they stop'd any where, they were sure to perish with Hunger, and if they advanc'd they fell in with those who were grievously afflicted with the Plague. The Fields therefore were cover'd over with more Bodies that were still languishing and half alive, than that were really dead. They who were the least tainted, were not able to keep up with the main Army, it march'd with so much Expedition, every one imagining that the farther he advanc'd, the better he secur'd his Health. In this wretched Condition, those whose Strength fail'd 'em, begg'd the Assistance of Strangers as well as that of their Acquaintance, to help them
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up. But besides, that there was no Conveniency to bring 'em along, the Soldiers had enough to do to carry their Arms, and the frightful Appearance of the Evil was continually before their Eyes. This made 'em not so much as look at those who call'd to 'em, their Pity being stifled by their Fear. On the other side, they who found themselves thus forsaken, attested the Gods, and represented their Communion in the same sacred Rites, and implor'd the *King's* Help; but finding they apply'd themselves in vain to deaf Ears, their Despair turn'd into Rage, so that they fell to Imprecations, wishing them the same End and such Friends and Companions in their need.

The *King* hereupon was no less ashamed than griev'd, because *he* knew himself to be the Author of so great a Calamity; *he* therefore sent Orders to *Phrataphernes* Governor of the *Parthians*, to send him Provisions ready dress'd, upon Camels: He also notify'd his Distress to the Governors of the neighbouring Provinces, who were not backward in their Supplies.

By these means the Army was at least freed from Famine, and came at last upon the Frontiers of the *Gedresians*, whose Territory was very fruitful, and afforded Plenty of all Things. Here *he* stay'd some time to refresh his harass'd Troops, in the interim *he* receiv'd Letters from *Leonnatus*, importing, That *he* had fought and overcome eight thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse of the *Horitæ*. *Craterus* likewise sent him Advice, That *he* had seiz'd and put into Custody *Ozines* and *Zariaspes*, two Noblemen of Persia, who were contriving a Rebellion. The *King* afterwards appointed *Siburtius* Governor of that Province, of which *Memnon* had the Prefecture (he being lately dead of Sicknes) and then march'd into *Carmania*. *Aspastes* had the Govern-

Government of this Nation, and was suspected to aim at Innovations during the *King's* abode in *India*; but as he came to meet the *King*, his Majesty thought fit to dissemble *his* Resentment, and shew'd him the usual Honours, till he got a clearer Information of the Crimes he was accus'd of.

The Governors of *India* having sent *him* by this time (according to *his* Orders) a great number of Horses, and draught Cattle out of the respective Countries subject to *his* Empire, he remounted, and gave fresh Equipages to those who wanted. He also restor'd their Arms to their former Splendor, for they were not now far from *Persia*, which was not only in a profound Peace, but vastly Rich.

As therefore he not only rival'd the Glory *Bacchus* had gain'd by the Conquest of these Countreys, but also his Fame, he resolv'd (*his* Mind being elevated above mortal Grandeur) to imitate him in his manner of Triumph, tho' it be uncertain whether it was at first intended by *Bacchus* as a Triumph, or only the Sport and Pastime of the drunken Crew. Hereupon he caus'd all the Streets thro' which he was to pass to be strew'd with Flowers and Garlands, and large Vessels and Cups fill'd with Wine to be plac'd before the Doors of the Houses. Then he order'd Waggon to be made of a sufficient largeness to contain a great many, which were adorn'd like Tents, some with white Coverings, and some with other precious Furniture.

The *King's* Friends and the Royal Band went first, wearing on their Heads Chaplets made of variety of Flowers; in some Places the Flutes and Hautboys were heard, in others the harmonious sound of the Harp and Lute: All the Army follow'd eating and drinking after a dissolute manner, every one setting off his Waggon according

according to his Ability, their Arms (which were extraordinary fine) hanging round about the same. The King, with the Companions of *his* Debauchery, was carry'd in a magnificent Chariot laden with Gold Cups, and other large Vessels of the same Metal. After this manner did this Army of *Bacchanals* march for seven Days together, a noble as well as certain Prey to those they had conquer'd, if they had had but Courage enough to fall upon them in this drunken Condition; nay it had been an easie matter for a thousand Men, (provided they were but sober) to have made themselves Masters of this riotous Army, in the midst of its Triumph as it lay plung'd in the Surfeits and Excesses of a seven Days debauch; but Fortune that sets the Price and Credit of Things, turn'd this military Scandal into Glory. The then present Age and Posterity since have with reason admir'd, *How they could in that drunken Condition, with safety pass thro' Nations hardly yet sufficiently subdu'd; but the Barbarians interpreted the rankest Temerity imaginable for a well-grounded Assurance.* However, all this Pomp and Splendor had the Executioner at its Heels, for the Satrap *Aspastes*, of whom we before made mention, was order'd to be put to Death. Thus we see that Luxury is no obstacle to Cruelty, nor Cruelty to Luxury.





QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK X.

CHAP. I.



ABOUT this time *Cleander* and *Sitalces*, with *Agathon* and *Heracon* (who had kill'd *Parmenio* by the King's Orders) came to him, having with them five thousand Foot and one thousand Horse; but they were follow'd by their Accusers out of the respective Provinces of which they had had the Prefecture; and indeed it was impossible for them to atone for so many enormous Crimes which they had committed, tho' they had been Instruments in a Murder altogether grateful to the King; for they were not contented to pillage the Publick, but even plunder'd the Temples, and left the Virgins and chief Matrons to bewail the Violation of their Honour. In fine, by their Avarice and Lust, they had render'd the very Name of the *Macedonians* odious to the *Barbarians*; but *Cleander's* fury

fury exceeded all the rest, for he was not contented to defile a noble Virgin, but gave her afterwards to his Slave for a Concubine.

The major part of *Alexander's* Friends did not so much regard the grievousness of the Crimes that were now publickly laid to their Charge, as the memory of *Parmenio's* barbarous Murther, which perhaps might secretly plead for 'em in the *King's* Breast; and they were over-joy'd to see those Ministers of *his* Anger, experience the dire Effects of it themselves. Thus we see *that no Power that is injuriously acquir'd can be of long Duration.*

The *King* having heard their Accusation said, *That their Adversaries had forgot one thing, and the greatest of all their Crimes, which was their despairing of his Safety; for they would never have dar'd to be guilty of such Villanies, if they had either hop'd or believ'd he should have return'd safe from India.* He therefore committed them to Custody, and order'd the six hundred Soldiers who had been the Instruments of their Cruelty to be put to Death. The same Day also the Authors of the *Persian* Revolt (whom *Craterus* had brought along with him) were executed.

Not long after *Nearchus* and *Onesicratus* (whom he had sent to make Discoveries on the Ocean) return'd and reported to him several things they had found out themselves, as well as others, which they had only by hear-say; *That the Island that was in the Mouth of the River abounded with Gold, but was destitute of Horses; that therefore every Horse that the Inhabitants of the Continent dar'd to transport thither, was sold there for a Talent; that that Sea was full of Whales which follow'd the Course of the Tide, and in bigness equall'd the bulk of large Ships; that they were frighten'd at*
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the horrible Noise made on purpose from on board the Fleet, notwithstanding which they follow'd the same, and caus'd a mighty roaring of the Sea, when they plung'd their huge Bodies under Water, resembling so many sinking Vessels.

The rest they receiv'd from the Relation of the Inhabitants, and particularly, *That the Red Sea had its Denomination from King * Erythras, and not from the colour of its Waters. That not far from the Continent there was an Island thick set with Palm Trees, and in the midst of the Grove there was a Pillar erected to the Memory of King Erythras, with an Inscription in the Characters us'd by that People. They added moreover, That of all the Merchant Ships which had sail'd thither for the sake of the Gold, not any were ever seen after. The King, desirous to be farther inform'd, sent them out again with Orders to steer along the Coast till they came to the Euphrates, and then to sail up that River to Babylon.*

Now *he* having conceiv'd vast Designs, had resolv'd after *he* had conquer'd all the Eastern Maritime Coast, to pass out of Syria into Africa, being very much incens'd against the Carthaginians, and from thence marching thro' the Desarts of Numidia, to direct his Course towards Cadiz; for it was generally reported, that *Hercules* had there planted his Pillars. From hence *he* proposed to march thro' Spain, which the Greeks call *Iberia*, from the River *Iberus*; and having pass'd the Alps to come to the Coast of Italy, from whence it was but a short cut to *Epirus*: He therefore gave Orders to his Governors in Mesopotamia, to cut down Timber in Mount Libanus, and convey it to Thapsacus, a Town in Syria, where it

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* Erythrus in Greek signifies Red.

was to be employ'd to build large Vessels, which were afterwards to be conducted to Babylon. The Kings of Cyprus were also commanded to supply 'em with Copper, Hemp and Sails.

While *he* was doing these things *he* receiv'd Letters from the Kings *Porus* and *Taxiles*, to acquaint *him* with the Death of *Abisares* by Sickneß, and that *Philip* his Lieutenant was dead of his Wounds ; as also that the Persons concern'd in that Action had been punish'd. Hereupon *he* substituted *Eudæmon* (who was Commander of the *Thracians*) in the room of *Philip*, and gave *Abisares's* Kingdom to his Son. From thence *he* came to *Persegade*, which is a City of *Persia*, and whose Satrap's Name was *Orsines*, who in Nobility and Riches far exceeded all the *Barbarians* ; he deriv'd his Pedigree from *Cyrus*, formerly King of *Persia* ; his Predecessors had left him a great deal of Wealth, which he had very much increas'd by the long Enjoyment of his Authority. This Nobleman came to meet the King, with all sorts of Presents, as well for himself as for his Friends ; he had with him whole Herds of Horses ready broke, Chariots adorn'd with Gold and Silver, rich Furniture, Jewels, Gold Plate to a great value, Purple Garments, and four thousand Talents of coin'd Silver. However, this excessive Liberality prov'd the cause of his Death ; for having presented all the King's Friends with Gifts far beyond their Expectation, he took no notice of *Bagoas* the Eunuch, who had endear'd *Alexander* to him by his abominable Compliance ; and being inform'd by some who wish'd him well, That *he* was very much in *Alexander's* Favour ; he made answer, That *he* honour'd the King's Friends, but not such Instruments as *Bagoas*, it not being the practice of the *Persians* to use the Male Sex after that manner. The Eunuch was no sooner acquainted with this Answer, than

than he employ'd all the Power and Interest he had so shamefully procur'd himself, to ruin this innocent Nobleman. He first suborn'd some mean Wretches of the same Nation to accuse him of false Crimes, with these Instructions, not to appear against him till they had receiv'd his farther Orders. In the mean time, whenever he was alone with the *King*, he fill'd his credulous Ears with odious Relations, dissembling the cause of his Displeasure, that the greater Credit might be giv'n to his Accusations. However, the *King* did not immediately suspect *Orsines*, yet he began to be in less Esteem with *him* than before.

The Plot was carry'd on so privately against him, that he was wholly ignorant of the latent Danger, and this importunate Favourite was not unmindful of his malicious Design, even in his most familiar Conversation with the *King*; so that whenever he had enflam'd his unnatural Love, he would be sure to charge *Orsines* sometimes with Avarice, and sometimes with rebellious Practices. In fine, every thing was ripe for the destruction of the Innocent, and Destiny, whose Appointments are irreverfible, was now approaching.

It happen'd that *Alexander* caus'd *Cyrus's* Tomb to be open'd, in order to pay his Ashes the funeral Rites; and whereas he believ'd it to be full of Gold and Silver, according to the general Opinion of the *Persians*, there was nothing found in it but a rotten Buckler, two *Scythian* Bows and a Scimeter. However, the *King* plac'd a Crown of Gold upon his Coffin, and cover'd it with the Cloke he us'd to wear himself, and seem'd to wonder, *That so great a Prince, who abounded in Riches, was not more sumptuously interr'd than if he had been a private Person.* Hereupon *Bagoas*, who stood next to the *King*, turning to *him* said, *What wonder is it to find the Royal Tombs empty.*

when the Satraps Houses are not able to contain the Treasures they have taken from thence? As for my own part, I must confess, I never saw this Tomb before, but I remember to have heard Darius say, that there were three thousand Talents bury'd with Cyrus. From hence proceeds Orsines's Liberality to you, that what he knew he could not keep with Impunity might procure him your Favour, when he presented you with it.

Having thus stirr'd up the King's Anger, those whom he had intrusted with the same Affair came in, so that Bagoas on one side, and the suborn'd Witnesses on the other so possess'd the King's Ears, that Orsines found himself in Chains before he had the least suspicion of his being accus'd. This vile Eunuch was not satisfy'd with the Death of this innocent Prince, but had the impudence to strike him as he was going to be executed; whereupon Orsines looking at him said, *I had heard indeed, that formerly Women reign'd in Asia, but it is altogether new, that an Eunuch should govern!* This was the End of the chiefest Nobleman of Persia, who was not only Innocent, but had likewise been profusely Liberal to the King. At the same time Phradates was put to Death, being suspected to aim at the Regal Dignity; it is certain *he* began now to be too sudden in his Executions, and too apt to give Credit to false Informations; from whence it is plain, *That Prosperity is able to change the best Nature, it being a rarity to find any one sufficiently cautious against good Fortune.* Thus he who a little before could not find in his Heart to condemn Lyncestes Alexander, tho' accus'd by two Witnesses; and had suffer'd several others to be discharg'd, even contrary to his own Inclination, only because they seem'd Innocent to the rest, and had been so extravagantly Munificent as to bestow Kingdoms on his conquer'd Enemies, at last so de-

generated from himself, as even against his own Sentiment to bestow Kingdoms on some at the pleasure of an infamous Catamite, and deprive others of their Lives.

Much about the same time *he* receiv'd Letters from *Cannus* concerning the Transactions in *Europe* and *Asia*. whilst *he* was subduing *India*, viz. that *Zopirio* his Governor of *Thrace*, in his Expedition against the *Geta*, had been surpris'd with a sudden Storm, and perish'd therein with the whole Army; and that *Sceuthes* being inform'd thereof, had solicited the *Odrysians*, his Countreymen to revolt, whereby *Thrace* was almost lost, and *Greece* it self in danger; * for *Alexander* having punish'd the Insolence of some of the *Satraps* (who during his Wars in *India*, had exercis'd all manner of Crimes in their respective Provinces) had thereby terrify'd others, who being guilty of the same foul Practices, expected to be rewarded after the same manner, and therefore took refuge with the mercenary Troops, designing to make use of their Hands in their defence, if they were call'd to Execution; others getting together what Money they could, fled. The King being advis'd hereof, dispatch'd Letters to all the Governors throughout *Asia*, whereby they were commanded upon sight to disband all the foreign Troops within their respective Jurisdictions. *Harpalus* was one of these Offenders; *Alexander* had a great Confidence in him, because he had upon his Account formerly been banish'd by *Philip*, and therefore when *Mazeus* dy'd, *he* conferr'd upon him the Satrapship of *Babylon*, and the Guard of the Treasures. This Man having, by the extravagance of his Crimes, lost all the Confidence he had in the King's Fa-

* Supplement of Freinshemius.

your, took five thousand Talents out of the Treasury, and having hir'd six thousand Mercenaries, return'd into *Europe*. He had for a considerable time follow'd the bent of his Lust and Luxury, so that despairing of the *King's* Mercy, he began to look about for foreign Means to secure himself against *his* Anger; and as he had all along cultivated the Friendship of the *Athenians*, whose Power was no way contemptible, and whose Authority he knew was very great with the other *Greeks*, as well as their private Hatred to the *Macedonians*; he flatter'd those of his Party, that as soon as the *Athenians* should be inform'd of his Arrival, and behold the Troops and Treasure he brought with him, they would immediately join their Arms and Counsels to his: For he thought that by the means of wicked Instruments whose Avarice set every thing to sale, he might by Presents and Bribes compass his Ends with an ignorant and wavering People.

C H A P. II.

* **T**HEY therefore put to Sea with thirty Ships, and came to *Suinum*, which is a Cape in *Attica*, from whence they intended to go to the Haven of the City.

The *King* being inform'd of these things, was equally incens'd against *Harpalus* and the *Athenians*, and immediately order'd a Fleet to be got ready resolving to repair immediately to *Athens*; but while he was taken up with these Thoughts he receiv'd Letters of Advice, That *Harpalus* had indeed

deed enter'd Athens, and by large Sums gain'd the chief Citizens, notwithstanding which, in an Assembly of the People, he had been commanded to leave the Town, whereupon he retir'd to the Greek Soldiers, who seiz'd him, and that he was afterwards treacherously kill'd by a certain Traveller. Being pleas'd with this Account, he laid aside his thoughts of passing into Europe; however, he order'd all the Cities of Greece to receive their respective Exiles, excepting such who had defil'd their Hands with the Blood of their fellow Citizens.

The Greeks not daring to disobey his Commands, (altho' they look'd upon 'em, as a beginning of the Subversion of their Laws) not only recall'd 'em, but also restor'd to 'em all their Effects that were in being. The Athenians were the only People who on this Occasion asserted both their own and the publick Liberty, for looking upon it as an insupportable Grievance, (as not being us'd to Monarchical Government, but to their own Laws and Customs of their Countrey) they forbid 'em entring into their Territories, being resolv'd to suffer any thing rather than grant admittance to those former Dregs of their own Town, and now the refuse of the Places of their Exile.

Alexander having discharg'd and sent home the oldest of his Soldiers, order'd thirteen thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, to be pick'd out to remain with him in Asia, judging that he could now keep Asia in Subjection with a small Army, by reason he had good Garrisons in several Places, besides the new Towns he had built and peopled with Colonies, all which he conceiv'd would be a sufficient Bridle upon those who might be dispos'd to Innovations. But before he made choice of those he design'd to keep with him, he issu'd out a Proclamation, requiring all the Soldiers to

give in an account of what they ow'd, for he was sensible that several of 'em were very much in debt; and notwithstanding he knew their Luxury had been the cause of it, yet he was resolv'd to free 'em.

They thinking it was only an Artifice to distinguish the profuse from the good Husbands, were slow in bringing in their Accounts, whereupon the King, knowing very well that it was their Modesty, and not their Contumacy, that was the Obstacle, order'd Counting-tables to be dispos'd throughout the Camp, and ten thousand Talents to be deliver'd out. Being by this convine'd he was in earnest, they declar'd their Debts, which were so great, that of so vast a Sum there was but one hundred and thirty Talents left; from whence it is plain, that this victorious Army that had conquer'd so many rich Nations, had brought more Honour than Booty out of Asia.

However, it was no sooner known that some of 'em were to be sent home, and others retain'd, than they presently concluded, he intended to fix the Seat of his Empire in Asia. Whereupon they broke out in such a Fury, that laying aside all military Discipline, they fill'd the Camp with Seditious Clamours, and addressing themselves to the King, after a more insolent manner than ever, they unanimously requir'd a general Discharge, shewing at the same time their disfigur'd Faces, and their grey Hairs. Neither the Officers Correction, nor their wonted Respect for their King, had at present any Influence upon them, but with their tumultuous Cries and military License, they interrupted him when he offer'd to speak to 'em, declaring publickly, that they would not move a Step from the Place where they were, but towards their own Homes. At last, Silence being made
(more

(more because they thought they had work'd upon the King, than that they were in the least moved themselves) they were desirous to know what he intended to do, when he deliver'd himself in the following Terms, *What is the meaning of this sudden Tumult? Whence proceeds this insolent and licentious Behaviour? I am afraid to speak, you have bare-facedly infring'd my Authority, and I am now but a precarious King, to whom you have not left the Privilege of speaking to you, of taking Cognizance of your Grievances, or admonishing you when you are in the Wrong; nay, I must not so much as look at you. And what is wonderful! now that I have determin'd to send some of you home, and in a little time to follow my self with the rest, I perceive those who are to go forthwith in the same Uproar, as they who are to stay till I return in Person. What can be the Meaning of this? I should be glad to know which of the two are dissatisfied, they whom I dismiss, or those I retain. One would have thought the whole Assembly had now had but one Voice, they so unanimously reply'd, That their Complaint was general. It is impossible for me (said the King) to believe, that this universal Complaint should proceed from the Cause you pretend, in which the major Part of you are not concern'd, since I dismiss more than I shall retain: The Evil must lie deeper, that thus at once alienates you all from me. When was it ever known, that a whole Army unanimously agreed to abandon their King? The very Slaves themselves are never so generally corrupted, as to run from their Masters all at once; Some of 'em will still be asham'd to forsake those they see abandon'd by the rest. But why do I (as if I had forgot the Fury that now rages amongst you) strive to administer Remedies to the Incurable? I see 'tis in vain to harbour any Hopes of you, and I am resolv'd to use you not as my Soldiers (for you*

are no longer such) but as the most ungrateful of all Mankind. The abundance of your Success intoxicates you, and makes you forget that Condition of Life which my Indulgence has procured to you, and in which you deserve to have grown grey; for I find you can govern your selves better in Adversity than in Prosperity. They who not long since were Tributaries to the Illyrians and Persians, are now grown so haughty as to disdain Asia, and the Spoils of so many Nations; and they who under Philip were half naked, at present think it hard to wear purple Garments; their Eyes can't bear the Sight of Gold and Silver, they want their wooden Vessels again, their Bucklers of Oxier and their rusty Weapons; for to speak the Truth, this is the fine Condition I receiv'd you in, besides a Debt of five hundred Talents, when all the Royal Furniture did not amount to above threescore. This was the Foundation I had for all my great Atchievements, on which nevertheless, I have (without Vanity) rais'd an Empire of the greatest Part of the World. Is it possible you should be grown weary of Asia, where the Glory you have acquir'd, renders you almost equal to the Gods? You are in mighty Haste to repair to Europe, and forsake your King, when at the same time, a great many of you would have wanted Necessaries on the Way, had I not discharg'd your Debts, and that too with the Booty of Asia. Are you not ashamed to have prodigally spent upon your Bellies, the Spoils of so many conquer'd Nations, and now return destitute to your Wives and Children, to whom very few of you can shew any Fruits of your Victories, the major part having even pawn'd their Arms in hopes of returning home. I shall sustain a great Loss indeed in such Soldiers, who have nothing left out of such vast Riches, but what they employ daily in their Excesses and Debaucheries. Let the Fugitives therefore have a free Passage; be gone
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from hence with all speed, while I and the Persians guard your Rear. What stay you for? I detain none of you; deliver my Eyes from the odious Object of such ungrateful Citizens. No doubt but your Parents and Children will be mighty joyful to see you return without your King! They will not fail to come out and meet Deserters and Traitors! Depend upon it, I'll triumph over your Flight, and wherever I am I'll punish you sufficiently for the same, if it be but in bestowing my Favours on those with whom you leave me, and preferring them to your selves. You shall soon be sensible what an Army is without a Head, and of what Moment my single Person is. Then leaping from the Tribunal in the utmost Rage, *he* ran in amongst the arm'd Soldiers, and having taken notice of the most mutinous, *he* laid hold of thirteen of 'em one after another, and deliver'd 'em into the Custody of his Guards, none of 'em daring to make the least Resistance.

C H A P. III.

WH O would imagine, that so tumultuous an Assembly could have been so soon appeas'd! But they were seiz'd with so great a Dread, that even those *he* was dragging to be made Examples of, did not dare to do any more than the rest. Thus this excessive License and military Violence, was at once suppress'd, not one of 'em daring to make the least Resistance, but standing all like Men astonished, and half dead with Fear, they quietly expected what the King would determine concerning their Lives. Whether this proceeded from the Reverence those Nations, who are under a Monarchical Government, pay to their Kings, whom they

worship like *Gods*, or from the particular Veneration they had for *his* Person, or that the Confidence with which *he* exercis'd his Power, struck an Awe into 'em, it is certain, they gave on this Occasion a singular Example of their Patience; for they were so far from being exasperated by the Punishment of their Companions, who they understood had been executed in the Evening, that they omitted nothing that single Persons could have done to express their Obedience, and expiate their Crime. The next Day when they presented themselves, and found they were prohibited Entrance (the *Asiatick* Troops being only admitted) the whole Camp was fill'd with mournful Cries, declaring, *they would live no longer, if the King persisted in his Anger.* But *he* being of an obstinate Temper in any thing *he* had resolv'd on, confin'd the Macedonians to their Camp, and order'd the foreign Soldiers to be drawn out, who being met together, *he*, by an Interpreter made the following Speech to 'em. *When I pass'd out of Europe into Asia, I fed my self with the Hopes of adding a great many considerable Nations and Multitudes of Men to my Empire, and indeed I have not been impos'd upon by Fame, in the Credit I gave her concerning 'em, but find that, besides what was commonly reported of 'em, they afford brave Men, and of an unalterable Affection towards their Kings. I thought at first that Luxury prevail'd amongst you, and that by a redundant Felicity, you were drown'd in Pleasures. Whereas I perceive you have so much Vigor of Mind and Strength of Body, that you are indefatigable in the Discharge of military Duties, and at the same time that you are brave, you do not cultivate Fortitude, more than Loyalty. Tho' this be my first Profession to you hereof, yet I have been a great while convinc'd of it. It is on this account that I made choice of you from the rest*
of

of the Youth to serve me, and incorporated you with my own Troops. Your Clothes and Arms differ in nothing from theirs, but your Dutifulness and Submission to Orders, is what you very much exceed 'em in. These Considerations made me marry the Daughter of Oxathres the Persian, not disdaining to have Children from a Captive; then coveting a numerous Offspring I took Darius's Daughter in Marriage, and encourag'd my best Friends by my Example to marry Captives, that by the means of that sacred Bond, I might put an End to all Difference between the Vanquish'd and Victorious. Persuade your selves therefore for the future, that you are my natural Subjects, and not Strangers, Asia and Europe being now but one Kingdom. I have arm'd you after the manner of the Macedonians, and by that means given Age to foreign Novelty. You are both my Citizens and Soldiers. All things have now the same Appearance. It is no longer unbecoming the Persians to copy the Manners of the Macedonians, nor the Macedonians to imitate those of the Persians. They who live under the same Sovereign, ought to have all the same Laws and Privileges. Having made this Speech, * He committed the Guard of his Person to the Persians, putting all the Offices thereunto belonging, into their Hands, and as they were leading to Execution those Macedonians who had been the Cause of this Sedition, it is said one of 'em, whose Age and Character distinguish'd him from the rest, spoke after the following manner to the King.

C H A P. IV.

HOW long, Sir, will you give way to the Transports of your Mind, even to suffer us to be executed after this foreign Custom? your own Soldiers, your own Citizens are dragg'd to Execution by their Captives, without so much as a legal Hearing. If you really think we deserve Death, at least do us the Favour to change our Executioners.

Most certainly this was a friendly Advice, had he been capable of hearing the Truth, but his Anger was turn'd into a Rage; so that perceiving those who were charg'd with the Prisoners, to be dilatory in their Office, he commanded 'em to drown 'em in the River bound as they were. Nor did this unusual Punishment raise any Commotion among the Soldiers; on the contrary, they repaired in Companies to the chief Officers, and the King's Favourites, desiring, *That if he knew of any more that were guilty of the same Crime, he would command 'em to be also put to Death, since they freely deliver'd up their Bodies to appease his Wrath.*

* After they came to understand that he had given their Posts to the *Persians*, and that the *Barbarians* were form'd into different Regiments, unto whom he had given *Macedonian* Denominations, while they were ignominiously rejected; they were no longer able to contain the Grief that now pierc'd their very Hearts; they therefore repair'd to the Palace in their Shirts, and laid their Arms down before the Gate, as a Token of their Repentance, and with Tears and humble Supplications begg'd to be admitted and forgiven, and that

that *he* would rather satisfy *his* Anger with their Executions than Disgraces, protesting that for their parts they were resolv'd not to depart till they had obtain'd their Pardons. *Alexander* being inform'd of this, caus'd the Gates to be open'd, and came out to 'em, and taking into Consideration all these Testimonials of their Repentance, and beholding their Fears and wretched Appearance, *he* was so mov'd thereat, that *he* could not refrain weeping with them for some time. In fine, their Modesty prevail'd with *him* to forgive 'em, and having gently reprimanded 'em, and by courteous Speeches comforted them again, he broke a great many of 'em who were no longer fit for the Service, and sent them home magnificently rewarded. Then *he* writ to *Antipater* his Lieutenant in *Macedonia*, to assign them the first Places in the Theatre at the publick Spectacles, and withal, that they should sit there with Crowns on their Heads; and likewise order'd, that after their Decease, their Children should receive their Pay. *He* appointed *Craterus* to lead them home, giving him also the Charge of *Macedon*, *Theffaly*, and *Thrace*, in the room of *Antipater*, whom *he* commanded to repair to *him* with the Recruits, to serve in the place of *Craterus*.

Alexander had perceiv'd for some time by his Mother's Letters, and those of *Antipater*, that there was not a right Understanding between 'em. *Olympias* accus'd *Antipater* of affecting the Crown: On the other side *Antipater* represented, that she did several things unbecoming her Character; but finding himself recall'd from his Government, he took it so to Heart, that he resolv'd to poison the King.

Alexander having settl'd these Matters, came to *Eclatana* in *Media*, where he made the necessary Dispositions for the Affairs of *his* Empire, and repeated the publick Shews and Solemnities. While
these

these Things were doing, *Haphestion* whom the King lov'd entirely and like a Brother, dy'd of a Fever. *Alexander* was so sensibly afflicted hereat, that out of Indulgence to *his* Grief, *he* did several things no way becoming the Regal Dignity; for *he* caus'd the unhappy Phylician to be hang'd, as if he had been negligent in the Cure, and with Cries and Lamentations, flung himself upon the Corps of *his* deceased Friend, bewailing *his* Loss Night and Day, and would hardly suffer *his* Friends to take him away. There are many other Reports which I do not credit. However, this is certain, that *he* order'd Sacrifices to be offer'd to him as to a *Hero*, and employ'd in his Funeral and Tomb, twelve thousand Talents.

As *he* was returning to *Babylon*, several *Chaldean* Prophets came to meet *him*, and advis'd *him* not to enter that City, because *he* set out thither in an unlucky Hour, which seem'd to threaten *his* Life. But *he* slighted their Admonitions, and continu'd *his* intended Journey; for *he* was inform'd that Ambassadors were come thither from all Parts of the World, and waited there for *his* Arrival. The Terror of *his* Name, had spread it self so universally throughout the World, that all the Nations seem'd to make their Court to *him*, as to *him* who was ordain'd to be their Sovereign. *He* therefore hasten'd *his* Journey thither, as if *he* were there to hold a General Diet of all the *Kingdoms* of the Earth.

Being arriv'd at *Babylon*, he receiv'd all the Ambassies very courteously, and sent them home. About this Time, one *Medius* a *Thessalian* gave a splendid Entertainment, to which the King was invited with *his* Friends. Here *he* had not quite drunk off *Hercules's* Cup, when *he* gave a deep Groan as if he had been run thro' the Body, and being carry'd from the Feast half dead, he found himself in such cruel Torments, that he ask'd for a Sword.

to

to put an End to his Pain. *His* Friends gave out, that too much Wine was the Cause of *his* Illness, but in reality it was a Conspiracy, the Infamy whereof was stifi'd by the great Power of his Successors. For *Antipater* had deliver'd a ready prepar'd Poison to his Son *Cassander*, who with his Brothers *Philip* and *Jollas*, us'd to serve the King at Table; he at the same time warn'd him not to communicate it to any but the *Thessalian* and his Brothers. *Philip* therefore and *Jollas*, who were the King's Tasters, had put the Poison into cold Water, which they pour'd upon the Wine the King was to drink, after they had according to their Office, made an Essay thereof. On the fourth Day, the Soldiers (partly because they suspected *he* was dead, and it was kept a Secret from 'em, and partly because they could no longer bear the Deprivation of *his* Presence) came full of Grief to the Palace, desiring they might be admitted to see the King, which accordingly was granted 'em.

C H A P. V.

AS soon as they saw *him*, they burst into Tears, and one would have thought they no longer beheld their King but rather assisted at *his* Funeral; and yet the Grief of those who stood about *his* Bed appear'd still greater; which the King perceiving, ask'd 'em, *where they would find (when he was dead) a Sovereign worthy of such Men?* It is a thing that surpasses all Belief, that notwithstanding his weak Condition, he should be able to keep himself as he did, in the same Posture *he* had admitted the Soldiers in, till all that Army to the last Man, had saluted *him*.

Having dismiss'd this Multitude, *he* laid down *his* wearied Limbs, as if *he* had acquitted himself
of

of the last Debt of Life. Then calling to *his* Friends to draw nearer (for *his* Voice began already to fail *him*) *he* took *his* Ring off *his* Finger, and gave it to *Perdiccas*, enjoining him to convey *his* Body to *Hammon*; and as they ask'd him, To whom *he* bequeath'd *his* Kingdom? *He* answer'd, to the most worthy; but however, *he* foresaw what Funeral Plays were preparing him on that account. *Perdiccas* then desiring to know, when *he* would have divine Honours pay'd him? *He* reply'd, when they themselves were happy. These were the King's last Words, a little after which *he* expir'd.

Hereupon the Palace was fill'd with Cries and Lamentations; and by and by, all was hush'd again, as if it had been some lonesome Waste, their Grief being now turn'd into a serious Reflection on what would ensue. The young Noblemen who us'd to guard his Person, were no longer able to contain their Grief, nor keep themselves within the Entrance of the Palace, but ran about like so many mad Men, filling the whole City with Sadness, and omitting no kind of Complaint that Sorrow can suggest on such an Occasion. The Troops therefore that us'd to keep Guard without the Palace, as well *Barbarians* as *Macedonians*, flock'd thither, nor was it possible in their common Affliction, to discern the Vanquish'd from the Victors. The *Persians* call'd him, *Their just and merciful Lord*; and the *Macedonians*, *The best and bravest of Kings*. They were not contented to utter their mournful Expressions, but also gave way to Transports of Indignation, *That so young a Prince in the very Flower of his Age and Fortune, should through the Envy of the Gods, be so suddenly snatch'd from Life and Government*. They now imagin'd, they beheld that cheerful and resolute Countenance with which *he* us'd to lead them to Battel, besiege the Towns, scale the Walls, and reward
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the Brave. Then the *Macedonians* repented *they had ever deny'd him divine Honours*, and own'd *they were both impious and ungrateful to have denied his Ears the Satisfaction of a Title that was so justly his due.*

Having employ'd a considerable Time in expressing their Veneration, and bemoaning their Loss, at last their Compassion turn'd upon themselves. They reflected, that they came out of *Macedonia*, and were got beyond the *Euphrates*, and were left destitute in the midst of their Enemies, who despis'd their new Empire; that the King being dead without Children, and without naming a Successor, every one would be for drawing to himself the publick Strength of the Kingdom. - Then they foresaw in their Minds the Civil Wars that did ensue, and *that they should be oblig'd to shed their Blood again, not for the Conquest of Asia, but to decide who should be King; that after having desir'd a Discharge of their lawful Sovereign, their old Wounds must bleed afresh, aged and weak as they were, and their Lives flung away to establish the Power of some mean Officer.*

While their Thoughts were thus employ'd, Night came upon 'em, and increas'd their Terror. The Soldiers pass'd it under their Arms, and the *Babylonians* stood gazing, some from the Walls, and others from the Tops of their Houses, in order to get a truer Information of what was doing. No Body dar'd set up Lights, so that the Use of the Eyes being taken away, they listen'd with Attention to every Noise and Voice, and as they were seiz'd with groundless Fears, they wander'd up and down the narrow Streets and dark Lanes, in great Anxiety, running one against the other in a continual Distrust of each other.

The *Persians* having according to their Custom, cut off their Hair, and put on mourning Clothes,
with

with their Wives and Children lamented his Death, not as one who had conquer'd 'em, and was not long since an Enemy, but as the lawful Sovereign of their Nation, with an unfeigned Affection. Being us'd to live under Kingly Government, they confess'd, *They had never had a Monarch more worthy to reign over them than he.* Nor was their Grief confin'd within the Walls of the City, but soon communicated it self to the neighbouring Regions, and spread the Rumour of so great an Evil, over all that large Portion of *Asia* that lies on this side the *Euphrates*. It quickly also reach'd *Darius's* Mother, who presently rent her Garments, and put on a mourning Dress, tearing off her Hair, and flinging her self upon the Ground. She had by her one of her Grand-Daughters, who was bewailing the Death of *Hephestion*, to whom she was marry'd, and now in this general Calamity renew'd her own peculiar Grief. But *Syfigambis* alone felt all the Misfortunes of her unhappy Family. She bemoan'd her own Condition, and that of her Grand-Daughters, and this new Affliction recall'd all the past. One would have thought *Darius* was but just dead, and that this distress'd Mother was at the same time performing the Funerals of both her Sons. She wept as well for the living as the dead. *For who was there now to take Care of her Grand-Children? Who would prove another Alexander? They were at present fallen into a fresh Captivity, and had anew lost their Royal Dignity. Upon the Death of Darius they had found a Protector, but Alexander being dead, who would have any Regard to 'em?* Here it also came into her Mind, how her Father and fourscore Brothers had been in one Day barbarously murder'd by that cruelest of Kings, *Ochus*. That of seven Children she had her self had, there was but one living: And

she

tho' Darius flourish'd for a while, it was only that his Fate might be the more remarkably cruel.

At last she sunk under the load of so much Grief, and covering her Head, turn'd her back to her Grand Children, who sat at her Feet, and depriv'd her self at once both of Food and the Light, and expir'd the fifth Day after she had thus resolv'd to die. Her Death is indubitably a great instance of *Alexander's* Indulgence to *her*, and of *his* Clemency and Justice to all the Captives; for she who could reconcile her self to Life after *Darius's* Death, was asham'd to out-live *Alexander*: And most certainly it is plain to all that will do the *King* Justice, that *his* Vertues were owing to *his* Nature; whereas *his* Vices were the Effects of Fortune, or *his* Age. He had an incredible strength of Mind, *his* Patience under Fatigues was almost excessive; and *his* Bravery did not only excel that of other Kings, but even that of those who have no other Vertue. *His* Liberality was such, that *he* would often bestow more than could with Modesty have been requested of the Gods. *His* Clemency to the vanquish'd shews it self in the many Kingdoms *he* restor'd to those *he* had conquer'd, or gratuitously conferr'd on others. *He* had so habitual a contempt of Death (which appears so terrible to all the rest of Mankind) that *he* seem'd to bid it defiance every where. Indeed *he* had too great a thirst after Glory and Praise, but that was pardonable in a young Prince who had done such glorious Things. *He* could not give greater Demonstrations of *his* dutiful Affection to *his* Parents than in the Resolution *he* had taken to place *his* Mother amongst the Goddesses, and in the revenge *he* took of *Philip's* Murderers. As for *his* Bounty towards *his* Friends, it was beyond Expression, as well as *his* Benevolence to the Soldiers. *His* Conduct was equal to the

the greatness of *his* Mind, and his Wisdom was far above *his* Age. He was moderate in those Pleasures that seem incapable of Moderation, in venereal Delights *he* kept within the Bounds of Nature, and indulg'd no unlawful Voluptuousness. These must be own'd to be mighty Gifts ; now the Failings which are to be attributed to Fortune were, *his* equalling *himself* to the *Gods*, and exacting divine Honours, and *his* giving Credit to the Oracles on these Occasions, to which we may add his being transported beyond measure, against those who refus'd to adore *him* ; *his* imitating the Manners of the conquer'd Nations, which before the Victory *he* despis'd. As for *his* proneness to Anger, and *his* love of Wine, as they were enhaunced by the heat of Youth, so Age would have abated 'em of course. However, we must allow, that if he ow'd a great deal to *his* Vertue, yet he was still more indebted to Fortune, which he alone of all Mankind seem'd to have within *his* Power. How many times has she snatch'd him out of the Jaws of Death ? How many times, when *he* has rashly expos'd *himself* to manifest Dangers, has she shewn her constant care of *him*, by bringing *him* off ? And to crown *his* Felicity, *his* Life and Glory had one and the same period. The *Destinies* waited for *him* till *he* had subdu'd the East, and visited the Ocean ; in fine, till *he* had done all that Mortality is capable of.

To this great King and mighty Captain a Successor was wanting, but the Burthen was too great for any single Person to bear now *he* was gone ; and to speak the Truth, *his* very Name, and the Fame of *his* great Atchievements, has establish'd *Kings* and *Kingdoms* almost throughout the World, and they were look'd upon to be very powerful who had but the smallest Portion of so vast a Fortune.

C H A P. VI.

BUT let us return to *Babylon*, from whence we made our Digression ; here the Guards of *his* Person, call'd together in the Palace the chief of *his* Friends, and the principal Officers of the Army ; they were follow'd by a great Number of Soldiers, who were desirous to know who was like to succeed *Alexander*. The Concourse of Soldiers was so great, that several considerable Officers could not get Admittance ; hereupon a Herald made Proclamation, that none should offer to enter but such as should be call'd by their Names. But no heed was had to the present precarious Power ; at first there was nothing but mournful Crys, and the Lamentations seem'd to be renew'd ; afterwards the Expectation of what would ensue put a stop to their Tears, and caus'd a silence. Then *Perdiccas* order'd the Royal Chair to be brought forth, and having put therein *Alexander's* Diadem and Robes with *his* Arms, he expos'd 'em all to the publick View ; he also laid in the said Chair the Ring the King had given him the Day before, at the sight hereof the whole Assembly burst out again in Tears, and mourn'd afresh. *Perdiccas* then spoke to 'em in the following manner, *I here restore to you the Ring which the King was pleas'd to give me, and with which he us'd to sign his Orders, and corroborate all his Acts of Power ; and notwithstanding the Gods in their Anger could not contrive any Misfortune that could equal that we at present lie under, yet if we cast our Eyes on the mighty Things he has perform'd, we shall find it reasonable to believe, that the Gods had adapted so great a Man to the necessity of human Affairs, and that having discharg'd the noble Task,*
they

they resum'd him to themselves as their natural Offspring. Since therefore there is nothing left of him now but what cannot share in his Immortality, let us, as soon as may be, acquit our selves of what we owe to his illustrious Name and Body, without forgetting in what City, and amongst whom we are, and at the same time what a King and Protector we are depriv'd of. We must also, fellow Soldiers, consult about the necessary Measures to maintain the Victories we have gain'd. A Head is absolutely requisite; whether you will have one, or many, is at your own disposal; but this you ought to know, that an Army without a General is a Body without a Soul. Roxane is gone six Months of her Time, it is to be wish'd she may bring forth a Son, who with the Approbation of the Gods, may inherit the Empire when he is grown up. In the mean time it is your business to determine who you will entrust the Government with till then. Perdiccas having made this Speech, Nearchus reply'd, That indeed no Body could deny, but Alexander's Blood and Offspring would best become the Regal Dignity; but then to wait for a Prince who was not yet born, and pass by one that was, could neither suit the Macedonians Temper, nor the present Exigency of Affairs: As therefore Barsine had a Son by the King, it was his Opinion they ought to give him the Diadem. No Body approv'd of this Speech, so that according to their Custom, they express'd their displeasure by the clashing of their Spears and Bucklers, and were pretty near coming to a Sedition upon Nearchus's obstinate maintaining his Opinion. Hereupon Ptolemy spoke to this effect, It must be own'd you have pitch'd upon a very noble Issue to command the Macedonian Nation, in the Son either of Roxane or Barsine, whom Europe would hardly think worthy to be nam'd, as partaking too much of the Captives. Did we conquer the Persians only to
serve

serve their Off-spring ? A thing that even Darius and Xerxes, who were lawful Kings, had with numberless Armies and strong Fleets in vain attempted. My Opinion is, that Alexander's Seat being plac'd in the Palace, they who were of his Council heretofore should there meet, whenever the publick Affairs requir'd their Consultations, and that the Officers of all Ranks shall be oblig'd to obey whatever the major part shall there agree to. Some were of Ptolemy's Opinion, but the most considerable sided with Perdiccas. Then Ariston put the Assembly in mind, That Alexander being ask'd, to whom he left his Kingdom? Reply'd, To the best and most deserving; and that he seem'd to have declar'd whom he thought most worthy, by giving his Ring to Perdiccas; for he was not the only Person that was present at his Death, but having cast his Eye round the Company, he made choice of him above all the rest of his Friends to bestow his Ring upon. It was therefore his Opinion, that the Sovereignty ought to be conferr'd upon Perdiccas. No Body in the least doubted but what he said was right, wherefore they unanimously order'd Perdiccas to come forth, and take up the King's Ring. He was at a stand between Desire and Bashfulness, and believ'd that the more backward and modest he shew'd himself in what he most coveted, the more obstinate would they be, in pressing him to accept the same. After some delay, being uncertain what Resolution to take, at last he got up, and retir'd behind those who sat next to him; but Meleager, who was one of the Captains, taking Courage from Perdiccas's backwardness said, The Gods forbid that Alexander's Fortune, and the Sovereignty of so vast an Empire should fall upon such Shoulders, at least I am sure that they who are Men will never suffer it. I do not here speak only of those who are of nobler Extraction than he,
but

but in general Terms, of all the Men of Courage, against whose Consent it is requisite nothing should be done. Neither does it matter much, whether you have the Son of Roxane (let him be born when he will) or Perdiccas for your King; since the latter, under the pretext of Guardianship, will not fail to possess himself of the supreme Power. This is the Reason that he likes no King but him who is not yet come into the World; and in the great desire we all express to have a King (which at this juncture is not only just, but even necessary) he is the only Person that is for waiting the Complement of Months, nay, he already prognosticates 'twill be a Son; and rather than fail, there is no doubt to be made, but he will impose one upon you. Most certainly if Alexander had left us him for our King, it would in my Opinion be the only thing we should be oblig'd to disobey him in. - Why don't you rather fall a pillaging the Treasury? For there is no dispute but the People is Heir to all the King's Riches. Having deliver'd himself to this purpose, he broke thro' the armed Crowd; and those who gave way to his Retreat, follow'd him to partake of the aforesaid Booty.

CHAPTER VII.

BY this time a great Band of Soldiers were got about Meleager, and the whole Assembly seem'd inclin'd to Sedition and Discord, when one of the meaner sort, who was altogether unknown to the major part of the Macedonians deliver'd himself in this manner to 'em, *What occasion is there to have recourse to Arms, or engage in a civil War when you have already the King you seek? Aridæus, the Son of Philip, and Brother to Alexander*

der the late King, and who, during his Life, was a partner with him in the sacred Rites and Ceremonies, and is now his only Heir, is laid aside. What is his Crime? What has he done that he should thus be depriv'd of the common Law of Nations? If you seek for one like Alexander, it is what you can never hope to find; if the next in right, Aridæus is the only Person. Hereupon the Multitude at first grew silent, as if aw'd by Authority, and afterwards cry'd out with one general Voice, *That Aridæus ought to be call'd, and that they deserv'd Death, who had held the Assembly without him.* Then *Pithon*, dissolv'd in Tears, represented to 'em, *That now, if ever, Alexander was to be pity'd, for being depriv'd of the benefit as well as presence of such good Citizens and Soldiers, who were so entirely wrapt up in the Name and Memory of their King, that they seem'd to have no other regard.*

It was too plain, that by these Words he reflected on the young Prince, to whom they design'd the Kingdom, but he thereby procur'd more Ill-will to himself, than Contempt to *Aridæus*; for while they pity'd his Misfortune, they grew favourably dispos'd towards him. They therefore obstinately declare, *That they will suffer no other to reign over them, than he who was born to that hope,* and immediately order'd *Aridæus* to be sent for. Hereupon *Meleager*, who was *Perdiccas's* mortal Enemy, brought him forthwith into the Palace, where the Soldiers salute him as King under the Name of *Philip*.

However, this was but the Voice of the Vulgar sort, the Nobles were of another Opinion, amongst whom *Pithon* began to execute *Perdiccas's* Advice, and appointed *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus* (who were of the Royal Family) to be Guardians

dians to the Son Roxane was to bring forth ; with this farther Proposition, That Craterus and Antipater should have the Administration of the Affairs of Europe. Then every one took an Oath to be true to Alexander's Issue. This made Meleager (who was, not without cause, apprehensive of future Punishment) withdraw with his Party, but he soon return'd again, and bringing Philip along with him, he forc'd his way into the Palace, crying aloud, That Aridaeus's vigorous Age seem'd to favour the hopes the Publick had conceiv'd of the new King; that therefore they ought to make trial of Philip's Posterity, as being the Son and Brother of two Kings, and frame their Judgment of him upon their own Knowledge and Experience. The deepest Sea, or most tempestuous Strait, does not stir up more Billows than the Multitude has different Motions, especially if it is wanton with a Liberty they think they are not long to enjoy. Some few were for conferring the Empire on Perdiccas lately chosen, but a great many more were for giving it to Philip than he really expected. They could neither approve nor disapprove of any thing long ; one while they repented of the Measures they had taken, and presently after repented that they had repented ; however, at last their Affections inclin'd 'em to the Royal Issue.

Aridaeus dreading the Power of the Nobility, had left the Assembly ; upon his departure the military Ardour seem'd rather to languish than be suppress'd, so that being call'd back again they dress'd him in his Brother's Robes, the very same that lay in the Chair ; and Meleager having put on his Breast-plate and taken his Arms, follow'd as if he had the Guard of the new King's Person. The Phalanx clashing their Spears and
Bucklers,

Bucklers, threaten'd to satiate themselves with the Blood of those who had affected a Crown that no way belong'd to 'em; and were mightily pleas'd that the Power of the Empire was to remain in the same House and Family; for as the Empire was Hereditary, it of Right belong'd to the Royal Line, and they were accusom'd to pay a Veneration and Respect to the very Name, which no other was worthy of, but he who was born to reign.

Perdiccas being alarm'd at this Proceeding, order'd the Room where *Alexander's* Body lay, to be shut and guarded. He had with him six hundred Men of known Courage: And *Ptolemy* had also join'd him, and the Royal Band of young Noblemen. However, it was no difficult matter for so many thousand Men, to break in upon 'em. The King likewise (attended by his Guards, commanded by *Meleager*) forc'd his way in. Hereupon *Perdiccas* in great Anger, call'd to his Assistance all those who were willing to preserve *Alexander's* Corps from being insulted. But they who had made the Irruption, cast their Darts at him from afar, and wounded several;—at last the oldest amongst 'em took off their Helmets (that they might be the easier known) and intreated *Perdiccas's* Party, That they would forbear coming to an Engagement, and submit themselves to the King, and the greater Number. *Perdiccas* was the first that laid down his Arms, and the rest follow'd his Example. Then *Meleager* endeavour'd to persuade 'em, not to depart from *Alexander's* Corps. But they mistrusting some Treachery, got out at another Part of the Palace, and fled towards the *Euphrates*. The Horse which was compos'd of the noblest Youth, follow'd *Perdiccas* and *Leonnatus*, and were for leaving the City, and taking to the open Field. But as *Perdiccas*

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did

did not altogether despair of bringing the Foot also to his Party, he stay'd in the City, least by carrying off the Horse, he should seem to have separated from the rest of the Army.

C H A P. VIII.

IN the mean time, *Meleager* never ceas'd putting the King in Mind, *That he ought to confirm his Sovereign Authority by the Death of Perdiccas, and that if his ambitious Spirit was not prevented, he would not fail to cause Innovations. That he could not forget what he had deserv'd at the King's Hands, and that no Man could be faithful to him, he fear'd.* The King rather suffer'd than approv'd of this Counsel; however, *Meleager* took his Silence for a Command, and immediately sent Messengers to *Perdiccas* to order him to come to the King, which if he made the least Difficulty to comply with, they were to kill him. *Perdiccas* being advised of their coming, plac'd himself at the Entrance of his House, accompany'd only by sixteen Youths of the Royal Band; and having reprimanded 'em, and reproach'd 'em with being *Meleager's Slaves*, he so terrify'd 'em with his Resolution and stern Countenance, that they fled in the greatest Consternation. Then *Perdiccas* order'd the young Gentlemen to mount their Horses, and thus with a few Friends repair'd to *Leonnatus*, where he was in a better Condition to repel any Violence that might be offer'd him.

The

The next Day the *Macedonians* took it heinouſly, that *Perdiccas* ſhould be brought in Danger of Death, and were reſolv'd by Force of Arms to puniſh *Meleager's* Temerity. But he foreſeeing the Evil, went to the King, and aſk'd him in their Preſence, *Whether he had not order'd Perdiccas to be taken into Cuſtody?* Who made Answer, *Yes, but it was by Meleager's Advice. However, there was no Occaſion for their being diſturb'd thereat, ſince Perdiccas was alive and unhurt.*

The King having thus diſmiſs'd the Aſſembly, *Meleager* (who was frighten'd at the Separation of the Horſe) was now at a loſs what Counſel to take, for he found himſelf in the Danger he had been contriving for his Enemy; ſo that he ſpent three Days in conſidering with himſelf, what Courſe he had beſt to take. All this while the Court had its uſual Appearance; for the Ambaſſadors of foreign Nations took their Audience of the King; the Generals of the Army were there preſent, and the Soldiers kept Guard at the Entrance. But there appear'd an unaccountable Sadneſs in all their Faces, which was an Indication of the utmoſt Deſpair, and being mutually diſtruſtful of each other, they did not dare to accoſt, or talk to one another, but gave a Scope to their private Thoughts, and by comparing the new King with their former, they were the more ſenſible of their Loſs. They in vain enquired, *Where was now that Prince whoſe Authority and Conduct they had ſo ſucceſsfully follow'd?* They complain'd, *That they were left deſtitute in the miſt of their Enemies, and unconquer'd Nations, who would not fail to revenge the Wrongs and Loſſes they had ſuſtain'd, whenever an Opportunity ſhould offer it ſelf.*

Their Minds were rack'd with these Reflections, when News was brought, *That the Cavalry under Perdiccas, having possess'd themselves of the Avenues about Babylon, hinder'd any Corn from being brought to the City.* From hence a Scarcity first ensu'd, and then a Famine; whereupon they who remain'd in the Town, were of Opinion, *That they ought either to reconcile themselves with Perdiccas, or give him Battel.*

In the mean time it happen'd, that they who liv'd in the Countrey, being apprehensive that the Villages and Villa's would be plunder'd, fled to the City; and the Town's-People wanting Provisions, retir'd into the Countrey, each Party thinking they should be safer any where else than where they were. The Macedonians, fearing some Commotions herefrom, met together in the Palace, and there acquaint the King with what they thought advisable to be done in the present Juncture, which was, *That Deputies should be sent to the Cavalry, to require 'em to put an End to the Discord, and lay down their Arms.* The King therefore dispatch'd Pafas the Thessalian, Amiffas the Megapolitan, and Perilaus to them, who having acquainted 'em with the King's Orders, receiv'd for Answer, *That the Horse were resolv'd not to lay down their Arms, till the Authors of the Sedition were deliver'd into their Hands.* This Answer was no sooner reported, than the Soldiers ran to their Arms of their own Accord, and the King being alarm'd at the sudden Tumult, came out of the Palace, and told them: *There is no Good to be expected from Sedition, for they that lie still, will certainly reap the Advantage the Contenders strive for. Besides, you ought to remember, that the matter lies with your own Countrey Men, and that it is*
hastening

hastening to a Civil War, rashly to take from 'em all Hopes of Reconciliation. Let us therefore try what Effect another Deputation may have; for as the King's Body is not yet bury'd, I am of Opinion, they will all unite to discharge that last Duty to him. As for my own part, I had much rather resign the Empire, than maintain it at so dear a rate as the Effusion of my Countrey-mens Blood. And if there is no other Means to come to an Agreement, I beg and beseech you to make choice of one that may be more deserving. Then with Tears in his Eyes, he took the Diadem from his Head, and holding it out in his Right-hand, offer'd it to any that thought he was more worthy of it than himself.

This modest Speech gave 'em mighty Hopes of his Ability, which till then had been eclips'd by his Brother's brighter Parts. They all therefore press'd him to execute what he himself thought proper. Hereupon he dispatch'd the same Persons again to desire they would receive Meleager amongst 'em as third General. This was easily obtain'd, for *Perdiccas* was desirous to remove *Meleager* from the King, and reasonably judg'd, that being but one, he could not be a Match for them two.

Meleager therefore march'd out with the *Phalanx*, and *Perdiccas* went to meet him at the Head of the Horse. Both Bodies (after their mutual Salutations) unite as they thought, to live in a perpetual Peace and right Understanding with one another.

C H A P. XI.

BUT Fate was now bringing a Civil War upon the *Macedonian* Nation; for a Crown admits of no Partners, and it was at this time coveted by many. First then they join'd their Forces together, and afterwards again divided 'em. And as they had loaded the Body with more than it could bear, the other Members began to fail, and that Empire that might have maintain'd it self under one Sovereign, falls to Ruine, while it is supported by many. It is therefore with the greatest Reason, that the *Roman* People acknowledge they owe their Safety to their Prince, who appear'd to 'em like a new Star, on that very Night that had like to have been their last. And most certainly it was his Rising, and not that of the Sun, that restor'd Light to the darkened World, when having lost its Head, the discording Members were in the greatest Apprehensions. How many Firebrands did he then put out? How many Swords did he then sheath? How black was the Storm that clear'd up at his sudden Appearance? The Empire may therefore be said not only to recover its Strength, but even to flourish through his means, so that no Body can blame me if I wish, that his Posterity may long enjoy the Sovereign Power, if not for ever.

But that I may now return to the Series of my Narration, which the Contemplation of the publick Happiness, made me interrupt: *Perdiccas* plac'd all the Hopes of his own Safety, in *Meleager's* Death, and concluded, that (as he was
a vain

a vain Man, no way to be rely'd on, and might be capable of causing sudden Changes, and with all was his mortal Enemy) he ought to prevent him. However, he cloth'd his Design with a deep Dissimulation, that he might destroy him when he least suspected it. He therefore suborn'd some of those that were under his own Command, to complain publickly (as from themselves) that Meleager was made equal to Perdicas. Meleager being inform'd hereof, came to Perdicas in great Anger, and related to him what he was told; he seem'd surpriz'd at the Novelty of the Thing, and began to wonder at it, and complain, and put on an Appearance of Concern thereat; at last they agreed, *That the Authors of such Seditious Reports should be apprehended.*

Hereupon Meleager thank'd and embrac'd Perdicas, praising the Confidence he had in him, and his bountiful Disposition towards him. Then they concerted what Measures they should take to punish the Guilty; and they agreed that the Army should be purify'd after the Custom of their Countrey, and that the late Divisions would be a plausible Pretence for that purpose. The Kings of Macedon us'd to purifie their Army after this manner: They ripp'd open a Bitch, and took out her Bowels, and cast them at the two Extremities of the last Field the Army was to be led into, and in the intermediate Space all the Forces were drawn up, the Horse on one side, and the *Phalanx* on the other.

On the Day therefore this Ceremony was to be executed, the King at the Head of the Horse and Elephants, plac'd himself directly opposite to the Foot, which was commanded by Meleager. The Cavalry had no sooner begun to move, than

the Foot were seiz'd with a sudden Fear, on the account of the late Discord, and began to suspect that they were not peaceably inclin'd, so that they were in some doubt, whether they should not march back again into the City; for the Plain seem'd most favourable to the Horse. However lest they should without a Cause blame the Integrity of their Fellow Soldiers, they kept their Post, resolv'd to defend themselves if they were attack'd. Both Bodies were pretty near one another, being divided but by a small Interval, when the King at the Head of one of the Wings, rid along the Line of the Foot, and by *Perdiccas's* Advice, demanded *the Authors of the Division to be deliver'd up, to suffer condign Punishment*; threatening at the same time, (if they refus'd to comply) to fall upon 'em with all the Troops and Elephants. The Foot were amaz'd at the unforeseen Evil, and *Meleager* himself had no more Courage or Counsel than the rest; but they thought it the safest way to wait, and see what the Event would be, rather than provoke Fortune. Then *Perdiccas* seeing the dejected Condition they were in, drew out about three hundred of 'em, who had follow'd *Meleager* when he left the first Assembly that was held after *Alexander's* Death, and cast 'em to the Elephants in the Sight of all the Army, so that they were all tramp'd to Death by those Animals, without *Philip's* either opposing or authorizing the same; it being plain, that he did not design to own any thing to be done by his Order, but what should be plausible in the Event. This was the Omen and Beginning of the Civil Wars amongst the *Macedonians*. *Meleager* was too late sensible of *Perdiccas's* Fraud, but as no Violence was then offer'd to his own Person, he remain'd quiet with
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the *Phalanx*; however, at last despairing of his Safety, when he saw his Enemies, in order to ruine him, make an Abuse of that Prince's Name, whom he himself had made *King*, he took Sanctuary in a Temple, where he was slain without any Regard to the Religion of the Place.

CHAP. X.

PERDICCAS having led the Army back again into the Town, held a Council of all the chief Persons, where they came to this Resolution, that the Empire should be divided, but the King should hold the Sovereign Authority; That *Ptolemy* should be Satrap of Egypt, and of all the Nations in Africa within the Jurisdiction of the Macedonian Power. Syria, with Phenicia, was given to *Laomedon*; Cilicia to *Philotas*; Lycia, with Pamphylia, and the greater Phrygia, were assign'd to *Antigonus*. *Cassander* was sent into Caria, and *Menander* into Lydia. The lesser Phrygia that joins to the *Hellefpont*, was allotted to *Leonnatus*. Cappadocia and Paphlagonia fell to the Share of *Eumenes*; he was also commanded to defend all that Countrey to the Trapezian Territories, and to make War with *Arbates*, who alone refus'd to submit to the Macedonian Yoke. *Python* had Media, and *Lyfimachus* Thracia, with all the Pontick Nations that border upon the Thracian Territories. They who commanded in India, *Bactriana*, and over the *Sogdians*, and other Nations bordering on the Ocean or Red Sea, were to hold the Power of

Jurisdiction,

K. 6.

Jurisdiction, with the same Limitations they had formerly held the same. It was likewise ordained, that *Perdiccas* should remain with the King, and have the Command of those Troops that follow'd his Majesty. Some have been of Opinion, that the Provinces were thus distributed by *Alexander's* Testament; but we are satisfy'd that that was only a vain Report, notwithstanding some Authors write so.

Having thus divided the Empire, every one defended his own Portion, and might have secur'd the Foundations they had laid, if it was possible to set Bounds to immoderate Desires. For they who but a little before were the King's Servants, now under the Pretence of discharging a Power intrusted with them, did each possess themselves of large Dominions; all Cause of Strife being taken away, since they were all of the same Nation, and had their respective Territories mark'd out and distinguish'd from the others. But it was a difficult matter for them to be contented with what Opportunity had offer'd 'em, for the first Beginnings are despis'd, when we hope to make greater Improvements. Every one of them therefore thinks it easier to enlarge his Kingdom, than it was to receive it. It was now the seventh Day that *Alexander's* Body lay in his Coffin, without having receiv'd the Funeral Rites, all their Cares being diverted from that Solemnity, to settle and form the publick State. It is observable, that there is no Countrey where the Heat of the Sun has a greater Influence than in *Mesopotamia*, insomuch that it kills the greatest Part of those Animals that lie expos'd in the open Field without Shelter, and parches up every thing, as if they had been burnt by a Fire. Moreover, Springs are here very rare,

rare, and by the Malice of the Inhabitants; conceal'd. They preserve 'em for their own Use, without letting Strangers know where they are. Notwithstanding this, when *Alexander's* Friends were at leisure to take Care of the dead Body, they found it without the least Taint, or Spot of Corruption; nay, that Liveliness that accompanies animated Bodies, had not forsaken his Face. The *Egyptians* therefore, and the *Chaldeans* being order'd to embalm the Corps after their manner, were at first afraid to lay Hands upon it, as though it were still living; but afterwards having intreated *him*, that it might be lawful for mortal Hands to touch *him*, they dress'd *his* Body, and fill'd his Golden Coffin with odoriferous Materials, putting the Token of *his* Dignity upon *his* Head.

It was generally believ'd, that *he* dy'd of Poyson, and that *Jollas*, *Antipater's* Son, being one of those who serv'd *him* at Table, had by his Father's Orders given it *him*. It is certain, that *Alexander* was often heard to say, That *Antipater* affected the Regal Dignity, and that *he* was more powerful than a Lieutenant ought to be, and being puff'd up on the Account of the Spartan Victory, *he* seem'd to lay a Claim of Right to all *he* had entrusted *him* with. It was also thought, That *Craterus* was sent with the dismiss'd old Soldiers to kill *him*. Now the Nature of the Macedonian Poison, is such, that it preys upon Iron it self, and can be kept in nothing but the Hoof a Beast. The Fountain from whence this poisonous Liquor flows, is call'd the *Styx*. This was brought by *Cassander*, and deliver'd by *him* to his Brother *Jollas*, who mix'd it with the King's last Draught.

However

However these Things were reported, they were soon stif'd by the Power of those that were aspers'd thereby. For *Antipater* invaded not only the Kingdom of *Macedonia*, but also *Greece*, and his Offspring succeeded him therein, he having put to Death all who were any way (though never so remotely) related to *Alexander*. As for the King's Body, it was convey'd by *Ptolemy* (who had *Egypt* for his Portion) first to *Memphis*, and a few Years after, to *Alexandria*, where all Honour is pay'd to his Name and Memory.

F I N I S.





THE INDEX.

A.

- A**BDOLONYMUS *a Gardiner, made King*
of Sydon, Vol. 1. Pag. 188
His Modesty, p. 189
- Abian Scythians *submit to Alexander,* vol. 2. p. 31
- Abisares *an Indian King,* vol. 2. p. 105
Sends Ambassadors to submit himself to Alexander, p. 118
His Death, p. 168
- Abistamenes *Governor of Cappadocia,* vol. 1. p. 154
- Abydos, vol. 1. p. 90
- Accident occasions a sharp Engagement,* vol. 1. p. 124
- Account taken of the Wealth of all Men in Greece,*
vol. 1. p. 44
- Acesines River, vol. 2. p. 90
- Ada *restor'd to her Kingdom,* vol. 1. p. 119
- Adraestan Plains, vol. 1. p. 96
- Advice to Alexander at his Accession to the Throne,*
vol. 1. p. 51
- Of Parmenio to Alexander,* vol. 1. p. 163
- Of Persians to Darius,* vol. 1. p. 164
- Of Artabazus to Darius,* vol. 1. p. 302
- Ætolians

The INDEX.

<i>Ætolians excuse themselves to Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 76
<i>Agathon executed for many Crimes,</i>	vol. 2. p. 165
<i>Aggrammes mighty Indian King,</i>	vol. 1. p. 123
<i>Agis King of the Lacedæmonians marches against Macedon,</i>	vol. 1. p. 192.
<i>Defeated and kill'd by Antipater,</i>	p. 312, 313
<i>Agis a bad Poet,</i>	vol. 2. p. 76
<i>Agriaspians, or Evergetæ,</i>	vol. 2. p. 14
<i>Alexander the Great, who writ best of him,</i>	vol. 1. p. 2
<i>His great Genius, Origin, and Education.</i>	lb. p. 3
<i>Presages of his Greatness</i>	p. 6
<i>When born,</i>	p. 7
<i>Description of him,</i>	p. 9, 10, & seq.
<i>His inordinate Ambition,</i>	p. 15
<i>His Morals,</i>	p. 21
<i>Saves his Father,</i>	p. 25
<i>Routs the Athenians,</i>	p. 42
<i>Quarrels with Attalus, and departs in Anger from his Father,</i>	p. 45
<i>His Magnanimity at his Accession to the Throne,</i>	p. 51
<i>Made General of Greece,</i>	p. 54
<i>Subdues Thrace,</i>	p. 56
<i>And the Illyrians,</i>	p. 62
<i>His Celerity,</i>	p. 66
<i>His Generosity to Timoclea,</i>	p. 70
<i>Passes over into Asia,</i>	p. 86
<i>Routs the Persians at the River Granicus,</i>	p. 98
<i>Kills Spithridates,</i>	p. 99
<i>Temperate in Diet,</i>	p. 120
<i>Offers Sacrifice in the Temple of Jerusalem,</i>	p. 137
<i>Admires his own Felicity,</i>	p. 155
<i>Washing in the Cydnus, taken desperately ill,</i>	p. 156
<i>His Resolution,</i>	p. 158, 159
<i>His Recovery,</i>	p. 161
	<i>His</i>

The INDEX.

<i>His Anxiety before the Battel in Cilicia,</i>	p. 166
<i>His Speech to his Army there,</i>	p. 170
<i>Routs Darius,</i>	p. 172
<i>His Compassion,</i>	p. 177
<i>His Moderation,</i>	p. 179
<i>His Letter in Answer to Darius,</i>	p. 186
<i>His Generosity,</i>	p. 189
<i>His Art to win his Soldiers,</i>	p. 195
<i>Takes Tyre,</i>	p. 204
<i>Declares War against the Carthaginians,</i>	p. 205
<i>His Answer to Darius's Offers,</i>	p. 207
<i>Wounded at the Siege of Gaza,</i>	p. 212
<i>His Cruelty to the Governor of Gaza,</i>	p. 214
<i>Goes to the Oracle of Jupiter Hammon,</i>	p. 216
<i>His Follies there,</i>	p. 218
<i>Passes the River Tigris,</i>	p. 225
<i>His good Fortune,</i>	p. 226
<i>Bewails the Death of Darius's Queen,</i>	p. 230
<i>His Answer to Darius's second Offers,</i>	p. 234
<i>Dubious before the Battel of Arbella,</i>	p. 239
<i>His profound Sleep,</i>	p. 242
<i>His Speech before Battel,</i>	p. 245
<i>Defeats Darius at Arbella,</i>	p. 257
<i>In great Danger after Victory,</i>	p. 258
<i>His great Conduct,</i>	p. 259
<i>Enters Babylon</i>	p. 264
<i>His filial Respect to Sisygambis,</i>	p. 271, 274
<i>Penetrates through impracticable Mountains into Persia,</i>	p. 280
<i>His Compassion,</i>	p. 282
<i>Burns Persepolis when drunk, and repents when sober,</i>	p. 290
<i>Pursues Darius,</i>	lb.
<i>His wonderful Expedition to surprize Bessus,</i>	p. 304
<i>His Humanity to Darius, when dead.</i>	p. 308
<i>He falls to Voluptuousness,</i>	p. 316, 332
<i>His Generosity to the Wife of Histaspes,</i>	p. 317
<i>His</i>	

The INDEX.

<i>His Concern for his Army's Eagerness to return home,</i>	p. 319
<i>Puts on the Persian Habit,</i>	p. 333
<i>Keeps 360 Concubines,</i>	Ib.
<i>Conspiracy of Dymnus against him,</i>	p. 338
<i>His Speech to the Army thereupon,</i>	p. 346
<i>His Charge against Amyntas and Symmius,</i>	vol. 2. p. 2
<i>Wounded in the Leg,</i>	Ib. p. 30
<i>His Superstition,</i>	p. 75
<i>His Answer to the Scythians,</i>	p. 43
<i>Defeats them,</i>	p. 44
<i>His Contrivance to gain a Rock,</i>	p. 50
<i>Kills a Lion,</i>	p. 56
<i>His immoderate Boasting when drunk,</i>	p. 57
<i>Kills Clitus, provok'd by his Insolence,</i>	p. 61
<i>Marrys Roxane,</i>	p. 73
<i>Requires new Honours to be paid him,</i>	p. 75
<i>Escapes a Conspiracy,</i>	p. 81
<i>Wounded at Mazagæ,</i>	p. 98
<i>Overcomes Porus,</i>	p. 112
<i>His Generosity towards him,</i>	p. 116
<i>His boundless Ambition and Speech to his Army to proceed in the Conquest of India,</i>	p. 124
<i>Marches back,</i>	p. 131
<i>His Remark upon Cenus,</i>	Ib.
<i>Sails down the Indian Rivers towards the Sea,</i>	p. 131, 155
<i>His extraordinary Rashness,</i>	p. 137
<i>His wonderful Deliverance,</i>	p. 139
<i>Near Death by his Wounds and Bleeding,</i>	p. 140
<i>His Speech to his Generals, advising not to expose himself rashly,</i>	p. 144
<i>Goes into the India Ocean,</i>	p. 159
<i>Returns up the Indian Rivers,</i>	Ib.
<i>Ravages India,</i>	p. 160
<i>His vast Designs,</i>	p. 167
<i>His Nature deprav'd,</i>	p. 170
	<i>His</i>

The INDEX.

<i>His Speech to his mutinous Army,</i>	p. 175
<i>To his Asiatick Soldiers,</i>	p. 178
<i>Pardons the Macedonians, and sends home the eldest Rich, and with many Honours,</i>	p. 180
<i>Comes to Ecbatana,</i>	p. 181
<i>His Grief for the Death of Hephæstion,</i>	p. 182
<i>Is poison'd at Babylon,</i>	Ib.
<i>Gives Perdiccas his Ring, his last Words and Death,</i>	p. 184
<i>His Character,</i>	p. 187
<i>His Body uncorrupted seven Days after Death,</i>	p. 205
<i>Carried to Alexandria in Egypt,</i>	p. 206
<i>Alexandria in Egypt, built by Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 220
<i>Alexandria, at the foot of Mount Caucasus,</i>	vol. 2. p. 16
<i>Alexandria on the Tanais,</i>	vol. 2. p. 33
<i>Alexandria in India,</i>	vol. 2. p. 151
<i>Alexandropolis, City in Thrace,</i>	vol. 1. p. 24
<i>Amazons,</i>	vol. 1. p. 331
<i>Amphoterus sent to Parmenio, to punish Lyncestes,</i>	vol. 1. p. 134
<i>Commands Alexander's Fleet,</i>	p. 146
<i>Amyntas, Nephew to King Philip, aspires to the Crown,</i>	vol. 1. p. 50
<i>Amyntas, a Traytor, ravages Egypt,</i>	vol. 1. p. 189
<i>Is slain with all his Men,</i>	p. 191
<i>Amyntas inveighs against Philotas,</i>	vol. 1. p. 350
<i>Is accus'd of the Conspiracy with Philotas,</i>	vol. 2. p. 2
<i>His Request,</i>	p. 3
<i>His Speech,</i>	p. 4
<i>Is discharg'd,</i>	p. 9
<i>Anaximenes Lampfacenus, Master of Eloquence to Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 18
<i>Ancyra Town,</i>	vol. 1. p. 146
<i>Andromachus, Governor of Syria, burnt alive by the</i>	

The INDEX.

- the Samaritans,* vol. 1. p. 221
- Anticles in a Conspiracy against Alexander,* vol. 2. p. 80
- Antigonus made Governor of Lycia, Pamphylia, and the greater Phrygia,* vol. 2. p. 203
- Antipater made Governor of Macedon and Greece,* vol. 1. p. 86
- In a Conspiracy against Alexander,* p. 80
- Raises forty thousand Men against the Lacedæmonians,* p. 311
- Defeats and kills Agis,* p. 112
- Call'd by Alexander into Asia, resolves to poison him,* vol. 2. p. 181
- Makes himself King, and destroys the Royal Family,* p. 206
- Antiphanes's Evidence against Amyntas,* vol. 2. p. 3
- Aornos Rock, not taken by Hercules,* vol. 2. p. 99
- Taken by Alexander,* p. 102
- Apelles only allow'd to paint Alexander,* vol. 1. p. 10
- Visited by him,* p. 108
- Apollo's Image bound at Tyre,* vol. 1. p. 200
- Arabia, Alexander there,* vol. 1. p. 196
- Arabian attempts to murder Alexander,* vol. 1. p. 212
- Arabitæ Indians,* vol. 2. p. 160
- Arachosians,* vol. 2. p. 14
- Aradus Island,* vol. 1. p. 186
- Araxes River,* vol. 1. p. 277 & 282
- Arbela Village, famous for the Defeat of Darius,* vol. 1. p. 224
- Taken full of Wealth by Alexander,* p. 262
- Arcadians submit to Alexander,* vol. 1. p. 75
- Arians submit to Alexander,* vol. 2. p. 22
- Aridæus reckon'd unfit to be King of Macedon,* vol. 1. p. 82

The INDEX.

- Saluted King, after the Death of Alexander,* vol. 2. p. 193
- Receiv'd as such by the Army,* p. 194
- His Speech to the Army,* p. 198
- Arimazes defends a Rock with thirty thousand Men,* vol. 2. p. 49
- Surrenders it, and is crucify'd,* p. 53
- Ariobarzanes obliges Alexander to retire,* vol. 1. p. 275
- Is worsted and kill'd,* p. 281
- Aristander, the Soothsayer, imposes on the Macedonians,* vol. 1. p. 97
- His Interpretation of an Eagle's fluttering about Alexander,* p. 134
- More of his Frauds,* vol. 2. p. 37
- Aritobulus, his Account of Alexander deserves Credit,* vol. 1. p. 2
- Ariston, Captain of the Pæonian Horse, his Bravery,* vol. 1. p. 226
- Aristonicus, Tyrant of Methymna taken,* vol. 1. p. 209
- Aristonus defends Alexander, tho' much wounded himself,* vol. 1. p. 139
- Proposes Perdiccas should succeed Alexander,* vol. 2. p. 191
- Aristotle, a Letter to him from King Philip,* vol. 1. p. 8
- Instructs Alexander,* p. 13
- His Rewards,* p. 15
- His Ingratitude,* p. 17
- Arms of Alexander,* vol. 1. p. 92
- Army of two hundred thousand Foot, and fifteen thousand Horse, to be rais'd in Greece,* vol. 1. p. 44
- Of Alexander, its Numbers,* vol. 1. p. 86
- Of Darius,* vol. 1. p. 147
- Of Alexander again,* vol. 1. p. 153
- At Arbella,* vol. 1. p. 237
- Artaba-

The INDEX.

<i>Artabazus, his Loyalty to Darius,</i>	vol. 1. p. 294. & 296
<i>Advise Darius well,</i>	p. 302
<i>Submits to Alexander,</i>	p. 327
<i>Honour'd by him,</i>	p. 330
<i>Artacacna surrenders,</i>	vol. 1. p. 337
<i>Artaxerxes Ochus, King of Persia,</i>	vol. 1. p. 12
<i>Asclepiodorus in a Conspiracy against Alexander,</i>	vol. 2. p. 80
<i>Asifinas, a Persian, discovers a Conspiracy,</i>	vol. 1. p. 132
<i>Aspastes, Governor of Caramania, put to Death,</i>	vol. 2. p. 164
<i>Aspendii submit to Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 137
<i>Revolt, and submit again,</i>	p. 138
<i>Astaracus, King of Massagæ,</i>	vol. 2. p. 97
<i>Assembly of all Greece, at Corinth,</i>	vol. 1. p. 43
<i>At Thermopylæ,</i>	p. 54
<i>Athenians assist Byzantium against King Philip,</i>	vol. 1. p. 27
<i>Their Precautions against him,</i>	p. 28
<i>Defeated,</i>	p. 42
<i>Spar'd by King Philip,</i>	p. 43
<i>Their brutal Provocations against Alexander,</i>	p. 74
<i>Congratulate him upon his Victories,</i>	p. 221
<i>Refuse to obey his Orders,</i>	vol. 2. p. 173
<i>Athenodorus calls himself King in Bactria, and is kill'd,</i>	vol. 2. p. 147
<i>Attalus insolent to Alexander in his Cups,</i>	vol. 1. p. 45
<i>Gains the Affections of the Army,</i>	p. 50
<i>Is taken off by Parmenio,</i>	p. 52
<i>Attalus represents Alexander,</i>	vol. 2. p. 109
<i>Attinas and all his Men kill'd by the Massagetæ,</i>	vol. 2. p. 54

The INDEX.

B.

- Babylon, vol. 1. p. 147
 Darius's *Army rendezvouzes there*, p. 223
 Surrender'd to Alexander, p. 264
 Alexander's *Army debauch'd there*, p. 265
 Bacchanals, vol. 2. p. 96, & 163
 Bacchus, a *Wood consecrated to him*, vol. 1. p. 57
 Imagin'd to have reveng'd the Destruction of
 Thebes, p. 73
 Baetra City, vol. 2. p. 21
 Bactria, vol. 2. p. 20
 Bactrians, *Account of them*, vol. 1. p. 210
 Revolt, vol. 2. p. 31
 Seven hundred of them kill'd and taken, p. 63
 Bactrus River, vol. 2. p. 21
 Baggage of the *Macedonian Army burnt*, vol. 1.
 p. 334
 Bagoas, an *Eunuch and Sodomite*, vol. 1. p. 331
 Contrives to ruin Orsines, vol. 2. p. 168
 His villainous Insinuations, p. 169
 Balm-trees in *Judæa*, vol. 1. p. 137
 Barbarity of *Darius*, vol. 1. p. 166
 Barbarous *usage of four thousand Greeks*, vol. 1.
 p. 282
 Bardylis, a *Collier, King of Illyricum*, vol. 1. p. 60
 Barzaentes, the *Traytor, flies to India*, vol. 1.
 p. 337
 Taken, vol. 2. p. 106
 Battel of *Mount Hæmus, Thracians routed*, vol. 1.
 p. 56
 With the Triballi, p. 58
 With the Getæ, lb.
 With the Illyrians, p. 62
 At the River Granicus, p. 98
 In Cilicia, p. 172
 Three in several Provinces, p. 190
 Of

The INDEX.

Of Arbella,	p. 250
With the Scythians,	vol. 2. p. 44
With Porus,	p. 111
Bazaria Country,	vol. 2. p. 55
Belon's Charge against Philotas,	vol. 1. p. 357
Belt of Alexander,	vol. 1. p. 92
Belus,	vol. 1. p. 152
Bessus, Governor of Bactria,	vol. 1. p. 210
A Conspirator against Darius,	p. 295
His wicked Projects,	p. 296
Villainous Dissimulation,	p. 298
Seizes Darius,	p. 303
Murthers him and flies,	p. 306
Assumes the Royal Dignity,	p. 334
His haughty Discourse to his Followers,	vol. 2. p. 17
Is forsaken,	p. 19
Flies to the Sogdians,	p. 20
Betray'd by Spitamenes,	p. 26
Deliver'd to Alexander,	p. 28
His Punishment,	p. 29
Betis, Governor of Gaza, makes a brave Defence,	vol. 1. p. 213
Cruelly dragg'd to Death,	p. 214
Biblos City, taken by Alexander,	vol. 1. p. 187
Bicon kills the Rebel Athenodorus, and is twice sav'd,	vol. 2. p. 147
Bithynia,	vol. 1. p. 89
Bitumen flowing from a Fountain,	vol. 1. p. 263
Boasting a great Fault in Alexander,	vol. 1. p. 57
Boats to be taken in pieces, and put together again,	vol. 2. p. 95
Bolaneſs of Thebans,	vol. 1. p. 67
Booty taken in Cilicia,	vol. 1. p. 175
Boxus kills Athenodorus, and is kill'd himself,	vol. 2. p. 147
Branchidæ cruelly slaughter'd,	vol. 2. p. 27
Bravery of the Crotoniats rewarded,	vol. 1. p. 70

The INDEX.

<i>Of Alexander's Army,</i>	p. 259
<i>Bridge at Babylon,</i>	vol. 1. p. 266
<i>Brutal Behaviour of the Athenians,</i>	vol. 1. p. 74
<i>Bubacene subdu'd,</i>	vol. 2. p. 75
<i>Bucephala Town built by Alexander,</i>	vol. 2. p. 131
<i>Bucephalus, Alexander's Horse,</i>	vol. 1. p. 21
<i>Lost and recover'd,</i>	p. 330
<i>Buckler of Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 92
<i>Bucklers sent to Athens, as a Trophy,</i>	vol. 1. p. 102
<i>Burial of Dead,</i>	vol. 1. p. 179
<i>Byzantium besieg'd by King Philip,</i>	vol. 1. p. 23

• C.

<i>Calis accus'd of a Conspiracy,</i>	vol. 1. p. 362
<i>Callisthenes, a surly Macedonian,</i>	vol. 2. p. 77
<i>Put to Death for Treason,</i>	p. 89
<i>Cappadocia,</i>	vol. 1. p. 146
<i>Care of the Macedonians for their King,</i>	vol. 2. p. 56
<i>Caria,</i>	vol. 1. p. 89, & 148
<i>Carmania.</i>	vol. 1. p. 162
<i>Carthaginians promise to succour Tyre,</i>	vol. 1. p. 194
<i>Their Embassy to Tyre,</i>	p. 200
<i>Caspian Sea,</i>	vol. 1. p. 326
<i>Cassander made Governor of Caria,</i>	vol. 2. p. 203
<i>Castle of Babylon,</i>	vol. 1. p. 266
<i>Catenes shot Birds flying, with Arrows,</i>	vol. 2. p. 29
<i>Caucasus Mount,</i>	vol. 1. p. 331, & vol. 2. p. 16
<i>Caudinus subdu'd by Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 162
<i>Caves to receive the overflowing of Rivers,</i>	vol. 1. p. 265
<i>Cebalinus discovers the Conspiracy of Dymnus to Philotas,</i>	vol. 1. p. 340
<i>Charges Philotas with concealing it,</i>	p. 341
<i>Celene Town,</i>	vol. 1. p. 143
<i>Surrender'd to Alexander,</i>	p. 144
<i>Celerity advances Conquest,</i>	vol. 1. p. 76
L	Chaldeans,

The INDEX.

Chaldeans,	vol. 1. p. 264
Warn Alexander not to go to Babylon,	vol. 2. p. 182
Charidemus, the Athenian, flies to the Persians,	vol. 1. p. 75
His Answer to Darius,	p. 148
Chariot of the Sun,	vol. 1. p. 151
Of Darius,	p. 152
Chariots of War,	vol. 2. p. 110
Chiliarchæ, Colonels of a thousand Men,	vol. 1. p. 269
Chios Island,	vol. 1. p. 111
Taken by the Macedonians,	p. 208
Choaspes River,	vol. 2. p. 97, & 270
Chorasmians submit to Alexander,	vol. 2. p. 55
Cidaris, Persian Ornament for the Head,	vol. 1. p. 152
Cilicia ravag'd and describ'd,	vol. 1. p. 154
Cinædopolis, Town of Sodomites,	vol. 1. p. 131
Cities, two built by Alexander on the Hydaspes,	vol. 2. p. 118
Clazomenians,	vol. 1. p. 111
Cleander sent to raise Recruits,	vol. 1. p. 143
Kills Parmenio,	vol. 2. p. 11
Executed for many Crimes,	p. 165
Cleo, a Poet,	vol. 2. p. 76
Cleopatra, second Wife to King Philip,	vol. 1. p. 44
Hangs herself,	p. 49
Cleopatra, Alexander's Sister, marry'd to the King of Epirus,	vol. 1. p. 47
Cleophes, Queen of Mazagæ,	vol. 2. p. 97
Climax Mountain,	vol. 1. p. 135
Clitus saves Alexander,	vol. 1. p. 90
Made Governor,	vol. 2. p. 57
His Insolence,	p. 58
Kill'd by Alexander,	p. 61
Cobares, his Speech to Bessus,	vol. 2. p. 18
Flies to Alexander,	p. 19
Cœlesyria,	vol. 1. p. 185
Cœnus inveighs against Philotas,	vol. 1. p. 351
His	

The INDEX.

- His Speech to Alexander for the Army,* vol. 2. p. 128
- His Death,* p. 131
- Cohortanus, a Governor, Father to Roxane,* vol. 2. p. 73
- Colonies of Greeks in Asia,* vol. 1. p. 90
- Compassion of Macedonians for Parmenio,* vol. 2. p. 1
- Concubines, three hundred and sixty kept by Alexander,* vol. 1. p. 333
- Conduct of Alexander,* vol. 1. p. 101
- Confusion in Alexander's Camp, upon a false Rumor,* vol. 1. p. 319
- After the Death of Alexander,* vol. 2. p. 197
- Conspiracy of Lyncestes against Alexander,* vol. 1. p. 132
- Of Dymnus,* p. 338
- Of Hermolaus, &c.* vol. 2. p. 80
- Prevented by a mad Woman,* p. 81
- Conspirators against King Philip punish'd,* vol. 1. p. 52
- Others Executed,* vol. 2. p. 89
- Consternation at Athens,* vol. 1. p. 28
- In Darius's Army,* p. 167
- Cophas sent to summon the Barbarians on an inaccessible Rock,* vol. 2. p. 52
- Corruption no good way of making Friends,* vol. 1. p. 46
- Craterus's Speech against Philotas,* vol. 1. p. 343
- Takes Hautenes, and kills Catenes,* vol. 2. p. 75
- Commands the Phalanx,* p. 95
- His Speech to Alexander,* p. 142
- Sent to govern Macedon,* p. 181
- Cries said to be heard in a Lake,* vol. 1. p. 71
- Crotoniats honour'd for their Bravery,* vol. 1. p. 70
- Crows conduct Alexander to Jupiter Hammon,* vol. 1. p. 217
- Cruelty of the Macedonians,* vol. 1. p. 286
- Custom of Persians in marching,* vol. 1. p. 151

The INDEX.

Cydnus River,	vol. 1. p. 155, 156
Cyrenians submit to Alexander,	vol. 1. p. 216
Cyropolis,	vol. 2. p. 32
<i>Plunder'd,</i>	p. 33
Cyzicum City,	vol. 1. p. 80
<i>Defended against the Persians,</i>	p. 81

D.

Dædalæ People,	vol. 2. p. 97
Dahæ notable Soldiers,	vol. 2. p. 38
<i>One thousand of them slain,</i>	p. 55
<i>Submit to Alexander,</i>	p. 69
Damascus and Darius's Treasure deliver'd to Parmenio,	vol. 1. p. 182
Darius, King of Persia,	vol. 1. p. 77
<i>His Orders full of Vanity.</i>	p. 95
<i>His vast Army,</i>	p. 147
<i>His Pride,</i>	p. 149
<i>His Dreams,</i>	p. 150
<i>His Chariot and Apparel,</i>	p. 152
<i>Advances towards Alexander,</i>	p. 162
<i>His Words in defence of the Greeks,</i>	p. 164
<i>His Defeat in Cilicia,</i>	p. 172
<i>His precipitate Flight,</i>	p. 185
<i>His haughty Letters to Alexander,</i>	p. 186
<i>His Letters offering him his Daughter,</i>	p. 206
<i>Appoints a Rendezvous at Babylon,</i>	p. 210 & 223
<i>His Queen dies,</i>	p. 229
<i>Prays for Alexander hearing of the honourable</i>	
<i>Usage of his Family,</i>	p. 230
<i>His Speech after the Defeat at Arbella,</i>	p. 261
<i>At Ecbatana,</i>	p. 291
<i>His Speech to his Council there,</i>	p. 292
<i>His compassionate Temper</i>	p. 298
<i>Forsaken by his Guards,</i>	p. 302
<i>Seiz'd by Traytors, and bound,</i>	p. 303
<i>Carry'd in a filthy Cart,</i>	p. 304
	<i>Murther'd</i>

The INDEX.

<i>Murther'd by Bessus,</i>	p. 306
<i>His last Message to Alexander,</i>	p. 308
<i>Dascylium submits to Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 104
<i>Debts of Macedonians paid by Alexander,</i>	vol. 2. p. 174
<i>Defiles forc'd by Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 139
<i>Deform'd Children murther'd by the Sophites,</i>	vol. 2. p. 121
<i>Demetrius denies having conspir'd against Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 161
<i>Demochares, the Athenian, in despair kills himself,</i>	vol. 1. p. 328
<i>Demosthenes excites the Athenians against Philip,</i>	vol. 1. p. 29
<i>His Speech to the Bæotians,</i>	p. 35
<i>Incenses the Athenians against Alexander,</i>	p. 65
<i>Corrupted by the Persians,</i>	p. 66
<i>His artful Persuasions,</i>	p. 73
<i>Discovery of his Corruption,</i>	106
<i>Deserts in Egypt,</i>	vol. 1. p. 216
<i>Designs of Alexander,</i>	vol. 2. p. 167
<i>Diana's Temple at Sardis made a Sanctuary,</i>	vol. 1. p. 106
<i>Her Temple at Ephesus rebuilt,</i>	p. 109
<i>Difficult Way into Persia,</i>	vol. 1. p. 279
<i>Dimachæ, Dragoons,</i>	vol. 1. p. 305
<i>Diodorus Siculus writ well of Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 2
<i>Diogenes, his philosophical Brutality,</i>	vol. 1. p. 55
<i>Dioxippus, an Athenian Wrestler,</i>	vol. 2. p. 148
<i>Worsts a Macedonian Soldier,</i>	p. 149
<i>Kills himself,</i>	p. 150
<i>Discipline improv'd,</i>	vol. 1. p. 269
<i>Discord in Macedon, upon the Death of King Philip,</i>	vol. 1. p. 50
<i>Dogs in India for Hunting,</i>	vol. 2. p. 121
<i>Dolphin fond of a Youth,</i>	vol. 1. p. 115
<i>Doryphori,</i>	vol. 1. p. 152
<i>Dragoons call'd Dimachæ,</i>	p. 305

The INDEX.

Drange Nation,	vol. 1. p. 337
<i>Dreams of Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 110, & 135
Of Darius,	p. 150
Of Alexander, <i>shewing an Herb to cure the Wounds</i>	
<i>of poyson'd Weapons,</i>	vol. 2. p. 154
<i>Drunken frolick of Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 132
Dyardenes River,	vol. 2. p. 90
Dying Words of Darius,	vol. 1. p. 308
Dynnus's Conspiracy against Alexander,	vol. 1.
	p. 338
<i>He is seiz'd, and kills himself,</i>	p. 341

E.

Eagle of Gold sacred,	vol. 1. p. 217
<i>Earthquake at the Death of Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 7
Ecbatana City,	vol. 1. p. 191, & vol. 2. p. 181
Ecbolina,	vol. 2. p. 103
<i>Eclipse of the Moon frights the Macedonians,</i>	
	vol. 1. p. 227
Egyptians incens'd against the Persians,	vol. 1. p. 215
Elaptonius conspires against Alexander,	vol. 2. p. 80
Eleans court Alexander,	vol. 1. p. 76
Eleata taken by King Philip,	vol. 2. p. 91
Elephants,	vol. 2. p. 91
<i>How us'd in Battel,</i>	p. 111
<i>Embassadors from Peloponnesus Compliment Alexander,</i>	
	vol. 1. p. 75
<i>Of the Carthaginians to Tyre,</i>	vol. 1. p. 200
<i>Of the Scythians to Alexander, their Speech,</i>	
	vol. 2. p. 40
<i>An hundred to Alexander from Indian Nations,</i>	
	vol. 2. p. 148
<i>Of many Nations at Babylon to meet Alexander,</i>	
	p. 182
<i>Embassies from Mountain People to submit to Alexander,</i>	
	vol. 1. p. 104
<i>From the Athenians to him,</i>	p. 144
	Emeriti

The INDEX.

<i>Emeriti, Soldiers privileg'd for long Service,</i>	vol. 1.	p. 128
<i>Empire divided</i>	vol. 2.	p. 203
<i>Eneti suppos'd Ancestors of the Venetians,</i>	vol. 1.	p. 146
<i>Entertainment made by Alexander after his Victory in Cilicia,</i>	vol. 1.	p. 177
<i>Another in India,</i>	vol. 2.	p. 148
<i>Ephesus, Alexander there,</i>	vol. 1.	p. 107
<i>Ephialtes Discourses for attacking the Macedonians,</i>	vol. 1.	p. 126
<i>Sallies and engages them,</i>		p. 127
<i>Is kill'd,</i>		p. 129
<i>Erimeses conspires to murder Alexander,</i>	vol. 2.	p. 80
<i>Discovers the Design,</i>		p. 82
<i>Erigyus kills Satibarzanes in single Combat,</i>	vol. 2.	p. 22
<i>His Death,</i>		p. 67
<i>Eryces defeated and kill'd,</i>	vol. 2.	p. 103
<i>Erymanthus River,</i>	vol. 2.	p. 91
<i>Erythræ,</i>	vol. 1.	p. 111
<i>Ethiopians,</i>	vol. 1.	p. 217
<i>Eudæmon, Governor of India,</i>	vol. 2.	p. 168
<i>Evergetæ, or Agriasprians,</i>	vol. 2.	p. 14
<i>Eumenes made Governor of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia,</i>	vol. 2.	p. 203
<i>Eunuchs dismiss'd by Darius,</i>	vol. 1.	p. 302
<i>Euphrates River,</i>	vol. 1.	p. 151
<i>Runs through Babylon,</i>		p. 265
<i>Eurylochus discovers the Treason of Hermolaus,</i>	vol. 2.	p. 82
<i>Exiles of Thebes prevail with the People to oppose Alexander,</i>	vol. 1.	p. 66
<i>Expedition of Alexander wonderful,</i>	vol. 1.	p. 304

The INDEX.

F.

- Fables to conceal the Adultery of Great Women,* vol. 1. p. 4, 5
Of the Sun's Appearance on Mount Ida, p. 80
Famine in Alexander's Army, vol. 2. p. 161
Fear magnifies Appearances. vol. 1. p. 228
Fire perpetual among the Persians, vol. 1. p. 151
Flame said to come out of the Temple of Ceres, vol. 1. p. 114
Flattery of an Ephesian to Alexander, vol. 1. p. 110
Of the Priests of Jupiter Hammon, p. 218
Of Barbarians, vol. 2. p. 30
Fleet of Alexander arrives at Tyre, vol. 1. p. 198
Of a thousand Ships to carry him to the Indian Ocean, vol. 2. p. 131
Disorder'd by a rapid Current, p. 133
Forces with Darius at Ecbatana, vol. 1. p. 291
Foreign Troops order'd to be disbanded. vol. 1. p. 171
Fortune, too many of its Favours suspected, vol. 1. p. 7.
Fountain runs Blood, vol. 1. p. 71
Of Achilles, vol. 1. p. 114

G.

- Gabaza Countrey,* vol. 2. p. 70
Gamaxus an Indian King, taken, vol. 2. p. 106
Gangaridæ, Indian Nation, vol. 2. p. 123
Ganges River, vol. 2. p. 90
Gardens at Babylon on Arches, vol. 1. p. 266
Gaza, Alexander there with his Army, vol. 1. p. 210
Gedrosians, Indians, vol. 2. p. 160
Generosity of Plataeans honour'd vol. 1. p. 70
Germans send Ambassadors to Alexander, vol. 1. p. 59
Getae

The INDEX.

Getæ, People of Scythia,	vol. 1. p. 24
Glaucias King of Illyricum,	vol. 1. p. 60
Gordian Knot cut by Alexander,	vol. 1. p. 145
Gordium Town,	Ib.
Governor of Damascus delivers that Place and Darius's Treasure to Parmenio,	vol. 1. p. 182
Governors chang'd for ill Administration,	vol. 2. p. 69
Governors of Provinces make themselves Sovereigns,	vol. 2. p. 204
Granicus River,	vol. 1. p. 96
Greece subdu'd by King Philip,	vol. 1. p. 43
Greeks arrive in Darius's Camp,	vol. 1. p. 164
Their Advice to him,	Ib.
Guard Darius after his Defeat in Cilicia,	p. 185
Present Alexander with a Crown of Gold,	p. 208
Four thousand of them barbarously mangled by the Persians,	p. 282
The Speech of two of them,	Ib.
Their Fidelity to Darius,	p. 299
Submit to Alexander,	p. 328
Flatter him,	vol. 2. p. 75
Commanded by him to receive their Exiles, obey,	p. 173
Guards of Alexander,	vol. 1. p. 268
Of Darius, forsake him.	vol. 1. p. 302
Of Alexander demand to punish Philotas,	vol. 1. p. 358

H.

Hæmus a Mountain in Thrace,	vol. 1. p. 56
Hages, Brother to King Porus,	vol. 2. p. 110
Halicarnassus, a strong Place,	vol. 1. p. 118
Besieg'd by Alexander,	p. 121
Fir'd by the Garrison,	p. 129
Harpalus Governor of Babylon, flies thence with five thousand Talents to Athens,	vol. 2. p. 171

The INDEX.

<i>Is kill'd,</i>	p. 173
<i>Heat violent in Mesopotamia,</i>	vol. 2. p. 204
<i>Hecatomnus King of Caria,</i>	vol. 1. p. 119
<i>Hecatomphylos City,</i>	vol. 1. p. 319
<i>Hector, Son to Parmenio, dies,</i>	vol. 1. p. 221
<i>Hegelochus, Alexander's General on the Coast,</i>	vol. 1. p. 146
<i>Hegistratus Governor of Miletum,</i>	vol. 1. p. 112
<i>Hellanice, Nurse to Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 9. & vol. 2. p. 57
<i>Hellespont,</i>	vol. 1. p. 89
<i>Helmet of Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 92
<i>Hephæstion, great Favourite to Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 179
<i>Has the Disposal of the Kingdom of Sydon,</i>	vol. 1. p. 188
<i>Sent to prepare Boats to pass the Indus,</i>	vol. 2. p. 94
<i>Dies and has a mighty Tomb,</i>	p. 182
<i>Heracon executed for Crimes,</i>	vol. 2. p. 165
<i>Hercules could not take the Rock Aornos,</i>	vol. 2. p. 99
<i>Honour'd by Indians,</i>	p. 111
<i>Hermolaus punish'd for killing a Boar,</i>	vol. 2. p. 79
<i>Conspires to kill the King,</i>	p. 80
<i>His Insolence when taken,</i>	p. 83
<i>Hermus River,</i>	vol. 1. p. 105
<i>Herostratus burnt the Temple of Diana,</i>	vol. 1. p. 109
<i>Hedricus King of Caria,</i>	vol. 1. p. 119
<i>High Priest of the Jews seen by Alexander in a Dream,</i>	vol. 1. p. 135
<i>Honour'd by him,</i>	p. 136
<i>Homer highly esteem'd by Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 19
<i>Honours Alexander bestow'd on his old Soldiers,</i>	vol. 2. p. 181
<i>Hopes the Bait of Conquerors,</i>	vol. 1. p. 87
<i>Horitæ Indians,</i>	vol. 2. p. 160
<i>Horse of the Sun,</i>	vol. 1. p. 151
	<i>Horses</i>

The INDEX.

<i>Horses sent Alexander out of India,</i>	vol. 2. p. 163
<i>Hostages taken by Alexander, under Colour of doing them Honour,</i>	vol. 1. p. 60
<i>Humanity of Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. 272, & 274
<i>Hunting,</i>	vol. 2. p. 56
<i>Hydaspes River,</i>	vol. 2. p. 106
<i>Terrifies the Macedonians,</i>	p. 107
<i>Hydroaspes River,</i>	vol. 2. p. 119
<i>Hypernians betray'd to Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 131
<i>Hypasis River,</i>	vol. 2. p. 122
<i>Hyrkania,</i>	vol. 1. p. 324

I.

<i>Ida Mountain,</i>	vol. 1. p. 79
<i>Jews meet Alexander in a suppliant manner,</i>	vol. 1. p. 136
<i>Favour'd by him,</i>	p. 137
<i>Ignorant Seamen,</i>	vol. 2. p. 133
<i>Illyricum, now Dalmatia and Sclavonia, subdu'd by Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 60
<i>Immortal, Men so call'd in the Persian Army,</i>	vol. 1. p. 151
<i>Inaccessible Rock taken by a Stratagem.</i>	vol. 2. p. 53
<i>Incestuous Marriages of the Countrey of Naura,</i>	vol. 2. p. 64
<i>India describ'd,</i>	vol. 2. p. 75, 90
<i>Ravag'd by Alexander,</i>	p. 160
<i>Indian Kings reconcil'd,</i>	vol. 2. p. 131
<i>Indians destroy themselves rather than submit,</i>	vol. 2. p. 132
<i>Indus River,</i>	vol. 2. p. 90, 103
<i>Insolence of the Macedonians,</i>	vol. 2. p. 174
<i>Inventions to keep off Ships at Tyre,</i>	vol. 1. p. 201
<i>Iron, the Use of it, by whom found,</i>	vol. 1. p. 80
<i>Islands subdu'd,</i>	vol. 1. p. 208
<i>In the River Hydaspes,</i>	vol. 2. p. 107
<i>Issus taken by Parmenio,</i>	vol. 1. p. 162

The INDEX.

Ister, or Danube River,	vol. 1. p. 58
Isthmian Games,	vol. 1. p. 207
Jupiter Hammon, his Oracle,	vol. 1. p. 215
Delightfully seated in the midst of a Desert,	p. 217
How represented,	p. 218.

K.

Kindred of Traitors punish'd by the Macedonians,	vol. 2. p. 82
Kings of India, their Magnificence,	vol. 2. p. 92
Some submit to Alexander,	p. 94.

L.

Lacedemonians incens'd against Alexander,	vol. 1. p. 310
Raise twenty two thousand Men against him,	p. 311
Are routed,	p. 313.
Number of them kill'd,	p. 315
Pardon'd by Alexander,	p. 316
Lake that made such as wash'd in it scabby,	vol. 2. p. 159.
Lamentation of the Macedonians for Alexander's Sickness,	vol. 1. p. 157
Of Darius's Wife, Mother, &c. after his Defeat,	p. 178.
Of Darius's Army for the Death of his Queen,	p. 231
Of Macedonians and others for the Death of Alexander,	vol. 2. p. 184
Lampsacum City preserv'd by the cunning of Anaximenes,	vol. 1. p. 19
Langanis King of the Agriani,	vol. 1. p. 60
Laomedon made Governor of Syria and Phœnicia,	vol. 2. p. 203.
	Leonatus

The INDEX.

- Leonatus defends Alexander till he drops himself,*
 vol. 2. p. 139
Appointed one of the Guardians to the Infant in
Roxane's Womb, vol. 2. p. 193
Made Governor of the lesser Phrygia, p. 203
Leonidas, Governor to Alexander, vol. 1. p. 10.
Commands a separate Camp of Malecontents, vol. 2.
 p. 13.
Letters in a haughty Style from Darius to Alexan-
der, vol. 1. p. 186
Of Alexander to Darius, Ib.
Of Darius to Alexander, offering him his Daugh-
ter in Marriage, p. 206
Of Alexander in Answer to him, p. 207
Of Darius to excite the Greeks to murder Alex-
ander, p. 229
Of Nabarzanes the Traitor to Alexander, p. 324
Leucidas Tutor to Alexander, vol. 1. p. 8
Lewdness of Babylonian Women, vol. 1. p. 267
Libanus Mount, vol. 1. p. 195
Libethus Mountain and City where Orpheus was
born, vol. 1. p. 57
Locrians adjudg'd to be chastised, vol. 1. p. 28
Overcome by King Philip, Ib.
Loss of Persians and Macedonians at the River
Granicus, vol. 1. p. 100
Loyalty of Persians, vol. 1. p. 296
Luxury of Babylon debauches Alexander's Army,
 vol. 1. p. 267
Lycaonia subdu'd, vol. 1. p. 208
Lycia submits to Alexander, vol. 1. p. 132
Lydia, the Government of it given to Alexander,
 vol. 1. p. 106
Lyncestes the only Conspirator against King Philip,
pardon'd, vol. 1. p. 52
His Conspiracy against Alexander, detected, p. 133
Is seiz'd, p. 134
His Execution, vol. 2. p. 2
 Lyfinochus

The INDEX.

- Lyfimachus Tutor to Alexander, vol. 1. p. 8.
Interposes to save Alexander from a Lion, vol. 2.
 p. 56
Made Governor of Thracia, p. 203
 Lysippus and Polycletus only allow'd to make Me-
 dals of Alexander, vol. 1. p. 10

M.

- Macedon Kings, *their Origin*, vol. 1. p. 3
 Macedonians *sent home to their Wives*, vol. 1. p. 130
Their Veneration for their Kings, p. 165
Unwilling to attack Tyre, p. 195
*Obstinate against prostrating themselves to Alex-
 ander*, vol. 2. p. 75
Their obstinate Behaviour, p. 128.
Mutiny for Fear in India, p. 134
*Break into the City of the Oxydracæ to rescue or
 revenge their King*, p. 140
Frighted at a high Tide, p. 158
Their Debts paid by Alexander, p. 174
They Mutiny to go home, lb.
Daunted by Alexander, p. 177
Repent, p. 178
Their Submission, p. 180
All salute Alexander dying, p. 183
 Madates, a loyal Persian, vol. 1. p. 272
Madness of Alexander's Army, vol. 2. p. 96, 163
 Magi among the Persians, vol. 1. p. 151
 Magnesians submit to Alexander, vol. 1. p. 108
 Malli Indians, vol. 2. p. 134, 151
 Maracanda, great Town, vol. 2. p. 30
 Marathon, vol. 1. p. 186
March of five hundred Furlongs, vol. 1. p. 305
Marches of Alexander surprising, vol. 1. p. 66
 Mardians, *their Countrey*, vol. 1. p. 288
Will not submit to Alexander, p. 329
Subdu'd, p. 330
 Mareotis

The INDEX.

- Marcotis Lake, vol. 1. p. 219
 Marginia City, vol. 2. p. 49
 Marfyas River, vol. 1. p. 143
Matrimony contracted by breaking Bread, vol. 2. p. 74
 Mausolus, Husband to Artemisia, vol. 1. p. 119
 Mazaces, Governor of Egypt, submits to Alexander, vol. 1. p. 215
 Mazæus, Governor of Babylon, receives Alexander, vol. 1. p. 264
 Mazagæ Town, defended against Alexander, vol. 2. p. 97
 Taken by him, p. 99
 Medicine given to Alexander, its Effect, vol. 1. p. 161
 Medius, a Thessalian privy to the poisoning of Alexander, vol. 2. p. 182
 Medus River, vol. 1. p. 277
 Megabizi, Priests of Diana, vol. 1. p. 109
 Megalopolis faithful to Alexander, vol. 1. p. 313
 Megareans, their ridiculous Compliment to Alexander, vol. 1. p. 76
 Meleager sets up Aridæus after the Death of Alexander, vol. 2. p. 193
 His Speech against Perdiccas, p. 191
 Advises to kill Perdiccas, p. 196
 Is kill'd in a Temple, p. 203
 Memocenians, their Cruelty, vol. 2. p. 32
 Destroy'd, p. 33
 Memnis City, vol. 1. p. 263
 Memnon, General of the Greeks in Darius's Army, vol. 1. p. 79
 His Advice to the Persians, p. 93
 Made Governor of the Coasts and Admiral, p. 118
 His honourable Bravery, p. 125
 Makes a brave Sally, and is repuls'd, p. 128
 Is made Generalissimo of Persia, takes Chios and other Places, and dies of the Plague, p. 142
 Memphis in Egypt, vol. 1. p. 215
 Menedemus cut off by the Bactrians, vol. 2. p. 38
 Mesopotamia

The INDEX.

Mesopotamia,	vol. 1. p. 147, 223
<i>Richness of its Soil,</i>	p. 263
Metron discovers the Conspiracy of Dymnus,	vol. 1.
	p. 340
Midas King,	vol. 1. p. 145
Miletum,	vol. 1. p. 112
<i>Taken by Alexander,</i>	p. 113
Minas Mountain,	vol. 1. p. 111
Mindians subdu'd by Alexander,	vol. 1. p. 162
Minerva's Temple at Troy,	vol. 1. p. 103
Mithrenes made Governor of Armenia,	vol. 1. p. 106
Mitylene taken by Pharnabazus,	vol. 1. p. 142
<i>By the Macedonians,</i>	p. 209
Mole to join Tyre to the Continent,	vol. 1. 196
Money the Sinews of War,	vol. 1. p. 51
<i>Given by the Persians to corrupt the Greeks,</i>	vol. 1. p. 106
Mullinus, Alexander's Secretary	vol. 2. p. 100
Multitude, their wild Motions,	vol. 2. p. 194
Murmurs of Macedonians,	vol. 1. p. 333
Musican Indians,	vol. 2. p. 152
Mutineers executed,	vol. 2. p. 177
Mutiny in King Philip's Army,	vol. 1. p. 25
Mycale Mount,	vol. 1. p. 115
Mylcas, Port of Phrygia,	vol. 1. p. 132
Myndus City repulses Alexander,	vol. 1. p. 121
Mythracenes detesting the Treason of Bessus, goes over to Alexander,	vol. 1. p. 305

N.

Nabarzanes a Conspirator to betray Darius,	vol. 1.
	p. 294
<i>His wicked Projects,</i>	p. 296
<i>Villainous Dissimulation,</i>	p. 298.
<i>After the Murder of Darius, flies to Hyrcania,</i>	p. 306
<i>His Letter to Alexander,</i>	p. 324
	Submits

The INDEX.

<i>Submits to him, and is pardon'd,</i>	p. 331
Nafamones,	vol. 1. p. 217
<i>Nations derive their Original from Gods,</i>	vol. 1. p. 5
<i>Nations in Darius's Army,</i>	vol. 1. p. 147
<i>Natural Philosophy, the Study of it encourag'd by Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 14
Naura Countrey,	vol. 2. p. 64
<i>Surrender'd to Alexander,</i>	p. 65
Neatchus sent out to Sea,	vol. 2. p. 160
<i>Returns and gives his Report,</i>	p. 166
<i>Sent back with Orders to go up the Euphrates,</i>	p. 167
<i>Proposes Alexander's Son by Barsine to succeed him,</i>	p. 190
Nicæa Town built by Alexander, in India,	vol. 2. p. 131
Nicanor, Admiral of the Macedonian Fleet,	vol. 1. p. 112
Nichomachus discovers the Discovery of Dymnus,	vol. 1. p. 340
Nicostratus in a Conspiracy against Alexander,	vol. 2. p. 80
Nile River,	vol. 1. p. 215
Ninus,	vol. 1. p. 152
<i>Nobles declare for the Infant in Roxane's Womb,</i>	vol. 2. p. 197
<i>Number of the Slain at the Battel in Cilicia,</i>	vol. 1. p. 176
<i>Of Darius's Army at Arbella,</i>	p. 237
<i>Of the Slain there on both Sides,</i>	p. 259
<i>Of Alexander's Army to invade India,</i>	vol. 2. p. 75
Nysa City yielded to Alexander,	vol. 2. p. 96

O.

Obstinacy of the Macedonians,	vol. 2. p. 128
Ochus River,	vol. 2. p. 49
<i>Offers of Darius to Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 206, 232
<i>Old Soldiers sent home,</i>	vol. 2. p. 173
	Olympias

The INDEX.

- Olympias Mother to Alexander, suspected of Adultery,* vol. 1. p. 4
Her ill Temper, p. 44
Goes away to her Brother in Epirus, p. 46
Her implacable Desire of Revenge, p. 47
Forces Cleopatra to hang herself, and murders her Child, p. 49
Olynthus City destroy'd, vol. 1. p. 15
Omen of Victory, p. 254
Omphis, an Indian King, submits to Alexander, vol. 2. p. 103
Takes the Name of Taxiles, his Generosity, p. 105
Ora Town taken by Polypercon, vol. 2. p. 99
Oracle of Delphos foretels the Death of King Philip in an ambiguous manner, vol. 1. p. 47
Concerning the Bæotians, p. 71
Of Apollo Clarius, p. 110
Of Apollo Didymeus, p. 114
Of Jupiter Hammon, p. 217
How mov'd to give Answers, p. 218
Orators of Athens demanded by Alexander, vol. 1. p. 73
Orchestus, a Town six Miles from Thebes, vol. 1. p. 66
Orders given by Darius full of Vanity, vol. 1. p. 95
Order of the Persians March, vol. 1. p. 151
Of Battel in Darius's Army, p. 168
In Alexander's Army, p. 169
Of Darius at Arbella, p. 236
Of Alexander there, p. 243
Orontobates rules Caria, vol. 1. p. 119
Orfillos detesting the Treason of Bessus, goes over to Alexander, vol. 1. p. 305
Orsines descended from Cyrus, his Generosity, vol. 2. p. 168
Put to Death through the Villany of a Catamite, p. 170
Outrageousness of a Republican Rabble, vol. 1. p. 107
Oxathres

The INDEX.

Oxathres <i>Brother to Darius,</i>	vol. 1. p. 318
<i>Clear'd and preferr'd,</i>	vol. 2. p. 152
Oxus <i>River,</i>	vol. 2. p. 24, 49
Oxycamus, <i>Indian King,</i>	vol. 2. p. 152
Oxydates, <i>Persian Nobleman,</i>	vol. 1. p. 318
Oxydracæ, <i>Indians,</i>	vol. 2. p. 134
<i>Their City taken,</i>	p. 137

P.

Pagus <i>Mountain,</i>	vol. 1. p. 110
Palace of <i>Kings of India,</i>	vol. 2. p. 92
Palus Mæotis,	vol. 1. p. 326
Pamphylia,	vol. 1. p. 138
Pancaſta, <i>Alexander's Concubine</i>	vol. 1. p. 108
<i>Pannick Fear in Alexander's Army</i>	vol. 1. p. 237
Paphlagonia <i>ſubdu'd,</i>	vol. 1. p. 208
Parapamiſadæ,	vol. 2. p. 14
Parapamiſſus <i>Hill,</i>	vol. 2. p. 21
Pargenſes,	vol. 1. p. 135
Parmenio <i>takes off Attalus,</i>	vol. 1. p. 52
<i>Takes Grynium in Æolia,</i>	p. 81
<i>Warns Alexander againſt Philip his Phyſician,</i>	p. 159
<i>Joins Alexander, and takes Iſſus,</i>	p. 162
<i>His Advice to him,</i>	p. 163
<i>Takes Damafcus, and Darius's Treafure,</i>	p. 182
<i>Made Governor of Cæleſyria,</i>	p. 185
<i>Advifes Alexander to Peace,</i>	p. 234
<i>His Advice before the Battel of Arbella,</i>	p. 240
<i>Awakes Alexander out of a profound Sleep,</i>	p. 242
<i>Accus'd of conſpiring againſt Alexander,</i>	p. 346
<i>Compaſſion of the Macedonians for him,</i>	vol. 2. p. 1
<i>Is put to Death,</i>	p. 11
<i>His Character,</i>	p. 12
Parthalia, <i>Indian Province,</i>	vol. 2. p. 154
Parthiene,	vol. 1. p. 318, 323
	Pafitigris

The INDEX.

- Pasitigris River,* vol. i. p. 272
Patron, Greek Commander, his Fidelity to Darius, vol. i. p. 299
Paufanias insulted by Attalus, vol. i. p. 48
Murders King Philip in revenge, p. 49
Peer to join Tyre to the Continent, vol. i. p. 195
Destroy'd by the Tyrians, p. 197
Pelagon and his Brother Syrphax ston'd to Death, vol. i. p. 107
Pellene a Town in Thessaly, vol. i. p. 66
Peloponnesians made Friends to Alexander by Money, vol. i. p. 65
Pelusium in Egypt, vol. i. p. 215
People of Asia submit to Alexander, vol. i. p. 106
Perdiccas sent to provide Boats to pass the Indus. vol. 2. p. 94
His Speech to the Officers after the Death of Alexander, p. 189
Offer'd the Crown, bashfully holds back, p. 191
Appointed one of the Guardians to the Infant in Roxane's Womb, p. 193
Secures himself against Meleager, p. 196
Is follow'd by the Cavalry, and keeps all Provisions from Babylon, p. 198
His Contrivance to take off Meleager, p. 200
Excuses it, p. 202
Appointed to command the Army with King Artabazus, p. 204
Perfagadæ City in Persia, vol. 2. p. 168
Persepolis, its immense Wealth, vol. i. p. 286
Plunder'd by the Macedonians, Ib.
Burnt in a drunken Fit, p. 289
Persian Fleet streightned and baffled, vol. i. p. 116
Persia how border'd with Mountains, vol. i. p. 277
Ravag'd by Alexander, p. 288
Persians corrupt the Greeks, vol. i. p. 51
Accus'd of the Murther of King Philip, p. 53
Splendor of their Monarchy, p. 78
Prepare

The INDEX.

<i>Prepare to oppose Alexander,</i>	p. 79
<i>Routed at the River Granicus,</i>	p. 98
<i>The Order of their March,</i>	p. 151
<i>Routed in Cilicia,</i>	p. 172
<i>In three other Engagements,</i>	p. 119
<i>Keep their King's Secrets,</i>	p. 210
<i>Faithful to Darius,</i>	p. 296
<i>Join the Bactrian Traitors,</i>	p. 303
<i>Appointed Guards to Alexander,</i>	vol. 2. p. 179
<i>Mourn for his Death,</i>	p. 185
<i>Peucestes comes first to save Alexander,</i>	vol. 2. p. 139
<i>Falls by him,</i>	Ib.
<i>Pexodarus, King of Caria,</i>	vol. 1. p. 119
<i>Phalanx, the Strength of the Macedonian Army,</i>	vol. 1. p. 172
<i>Phaleſitæ ſend Alexander a Crown of Gold,</i>	vol. 1. p. 132
<i>Pharnabaſus ſucceeds Memnon in Command,</i>	vol. 1. p. 142
<i>Confirm'd by Darius,</i>	p. 150
<i>His Actions at Sea,</i>	p. 191
<i>Deliver'd to the Macedonians,</i>	p. 209
<i>Pharos Iſland,</i>	vol. 1. p. 220
<i>Phaſelis City,</i>	vol. 1. p. 132
<i>Phaſis River,</i>	vol. 1. p. 331
<i>Phegelaſ, Indian King, ſubmits to Alexander,</i>	vol. 2. p. 122
<i>Philip, King of Macedon, rais'd the Honour of that Nation,</i>	vol. 1. p. 3
<i>Apprehenſive of too much good Fortune,</i>	p. 7
<i>Overthrows the Scythians,</i>	p. 25
<i>His Ambition and Conqueſts,</i>	p. 26
<i>Chofen General of the Greeks,</i>	p. 27
<i>Routs and ſpares the Athenians,</i>	p. 43
<i>Artifices of his,</i>	p. 46
<i>His Statue plac'd among thoſe of the Gods, and he murther'd,</i>	p. 49
	Philip

The INDEX.

- Philip, *Physician to Alexander*, vol. i. p. 8
Undertakes to cure him, p. 159
His Words of Assurance to him, p. 160
Admir'd for his Cure, p. 161
- Philip, *Brother to Lyfimachus, a wonderful walker a foot*, vol. 2. p. 66
Dies, p. 67
- Philotas, *Son to Parmeniō, conceals the Conspiracy of Dymnus*, vol. i. p. 340
Charg'd with the Concealment, his frivolous Excuses, p. 342
Seiz'd, p. 346
Produc'd to the Army, p. 350
His Speech to the Army, p. 352
Confesses his Guilt, p. 358
Is rack'd, p. 359
His Confession, p. 360 & 361
His Anger with his Brother Polemon for flying, vol. 2. p. 8
- Phocion, *his Integrity and Innocency*, vol. i. p. 106
An hundred Talents given him by Alexander, p. 107
- Phænicia, vol. i. p. 187
- Phradates, *made Governor of the Tapurians*, vol. i. p. 327
- Phrataphernes *surrenders himself to Alexander*, vol. i. p. 327
- Phrygia, vol. i. p. 104, & 130
- Phthia City, *Birth-place of Achilles*, vol. i. p. 54
- Picture that cost twenty Talents of Gold*, vol. i. p. 110
- Pilæ, *Defiles*, vol. i. p. 154 & 155
- Pilæ Amanicæ, p. 166
- Pilæ Sufidæ, p. 275
- Pinarus River, vol. i. p. 166
- Pindar's *Posterity sav'd at Thebes*, vol. i. p. 70
- Pisidia *reduc'd by Alexander*, vol. i. p. 140
- Pitho *the Bizantine's Speech to the Bæotians*, vol. i. p. 29
- Python

The INDEX.

<i>Pithon and others appoint Perdiccas and Leonatus Guardians to the Infant in Roxane's Womb,</i>	vol. 2. p. 193
<i>Made Governor of Media,</i>	vol. 2. p. 203
<i>Plague in Alexander's Army,</i>	vol. 2. p. 161
<i>Plataeans honour'd for their Generosity,</i>	vol. 1. p. 70
<i>Plays in honour of the Muses,</i>	vol. 1. p. 85
<i>Poison of Macedonia, its Nature,</i>	vol. 2. p. 205
<i>Poison'd Swords of Indians,</i>	vol. 2. p. 153
<i>Polemon, Brother to Perdiccas taken,</i>	vol. 2. p. 8
<i>Is discharg'd,</i>	p. 9
<i>Policy of Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 96
<i>Polycletus and Lyfippus only allow'd to make Medals of Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 10
<i>Polydamas sent to put Parmenio to Death,</i>	vol. 2. p. 9
<i>Executes his Commission,</i>	p. 11
<i>Polypercon subdues Bubacene,</i>	vol. 1. p. 75
<i>His Insolence punish'd,</i>	vol. 2. p. 18
<i>Takes Ora,</i>	p. 99
<i>Polystratus, a Macedonian, finds Darius mortally wounded,</i>	vol. 1. p. 308
<i>Polytimetus River,</i>	vol. 2. p. 47
<i>Pontus,</i>	vol. 1. p. 118
<i>Popular States erected by Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 108
<i>Porus, an Indian King,</i>	vol. 2. p. 105
<i>His Answer to Alexander,</i>	p. 106
<i>His Person and Equipage,</i>	p. 107
<i>Engages Alexander,</i>	p. 111
<i>Worsted,</i>	p. 112
<i>Taken,</i>	p. 115
<i>His Magnanimity,</i>	p. 116
<i>Potidæa City taken by King Philip,</i>	vol. 1. p. 7
<i>Poverty sharpens Industry,</i>	vol. 1. p. 79
<i>Of Macedonian Kings,</i>	p. 88
<i>Præctius River,</i>	vol. 2. p. 93
<i>Præsti Indians subdu'd,</i>	vol. 2. p. 152

The INDEX.

- Praxteles and Phidias famous Statuaries,* vol. 1. p. 23
- Prediction of the Gordian Knot,* vol. 1. p. 145
- Preparations for War in India,* vol. 2. p. 74
- Presages of Alexander's Greatness,* vol. 1. p. 6, 135
- Presents to Alexander,* vol. 1. p. 270, 271
- Of Indians to him,* vol. 2. p. 150
- Prisoners barbarously us'd,* vol. 1. p. 166
- Prisoner shews Alexander a Way into Persia,* vol. 1. p. 278
- Prodigies as Alexander was sacrificing,* vol. 1. p. 57
- Before the Destruction of Thebes,* p. 70
- Before the Siege of Tyre,* p. 194
- Propontis,* vol. 1. p. 89
- Protesilaus's Grove, fabulous Story of it,* vol. 1. p. 90
- Provision made by Alexander for maim'd Greeks,* vol. 1. p. 285
- Ptolomy's Account of Alexander the Great, to be credited,* vol. 1. p. 2
- Takes the Castles of Hallicarnassus,* p. 130
- Takes several Towns,* vol. 2. p. 97
- Amuses Porus,* p. 108
- His Speech about the Succession after Alexander's Death,* p. 190
- Made Governor of Egypt,* p. 202
- Purifying of the Macedonian Army,* vol. 2. p. 201
- Pyntagoras King of Cyprus commands part of Alexander's Fleet,* vol. 1. p. 198
- Pirates punish'd,* vol. 1. p. 209

Q.

- Quarrel between Alexander and Attalus,* vol. 1. p. 45
- Questions ask'd by Alexander of Persians,* vol. 1. p. 12

The INDEX.

R.

<i>Rain violent,</i>	vol. 2. p. 109
<i>Rashness of Alexander,</i>	vol. 2. p. 137
<i>Rebellion of Greek Soldiers in Bactria,</i>	vol. 2. p. 146
<i>Recruits come to Alexander at Babylon,</i>	vol. 1. p. 267
<i> In Bactria,</i>	p. 337
<i> Again,</i>	vol. 2. p. 48
<i> In India,</i>	p. 131
<i>Repentance of Alexander, for having kill'd Clitus,</i>	vol. 2. p. 61
<i>Republican Follies of Athenians,</i>	vol. 1. p. 74
<i>Rhidagus River,</i>	vol. 1. p. 324
<i>Rhinocerots in India,</i>	vol. 2. p. 118
<i>Rhodians submit to Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 207
<i>Ridiculous Compliment of Mægareans,</i>	vol. 1. p. 76
<i>Rock, People on it reduc'd by Fire,</i>	vol. 1. p. 336
<i>Rome, its Condition at the Birth of Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 7
<i>Roxane taken to Wife by Alexander,</i>	vol. 2. p. 73
<i>Rumours that please easily believ'd,</i>	vol. 1. p. 64
<i>Running naked about the Tomb of Achilles,</i>	vol. 1. p. 91

S.

<i>Sabracæ Indians,</i>	vol. 2. p. 151
<i>Sabus, Indian King subdu'd,</i>	vol. 2. p. 152
<i>Sacæ submit to Alexander,</i>	vol. 2. p. 46
<i>Sacrifice of Boys and Girls,</i>	vol. 1. p. 61
<i> To Jupiter in Macedon,</i>	p. 85
<i> To Neptune,</i>	p. 90
<i> To Achilles and Priam,</i>	p. 92
<i> Of a Child,</i>	p. 201
<i> To the Sun,</i>	vol. 2. p. 117
	<i>Sacrilegious</i>

M

The INDEX.

- Sacrilegious Soldiers destroy'd by Thunder and Lightning,* vol. 1. p. 72
- Sagalassenses defeated by Alexander,* vol. 1. p. 140
- Samaritans murder Andromachus,* vol. 1. p. 137, 221
- Samos,* vol. 1. p. 115
- Sangarius River,* vol. 1. p. 145
- Sardis surrender'd to Alexander,* vol. 1. p. 105
- Satibarzanes Governor of the Arians, revolts,* vol. 1. p. 335
- Satrapene Countrey,* vol. 1. p. 268
- Scarcity in Alexander's Army,* vol. 2. p. 20
- Scoffs of the Tyrians,* vol. 1. p. 195
- Scythians,* vol. 1. p. 318. *Vide* Abian Scythians.
- Insult Alexander,* vol. 2. p. 34.
- Their Embassy to him,* p. 40
- Their King offers him his Daughter,* p. 55
- Sea-fight, the Persians vanquish'd,* vol. 1. p. 191
- Secresie of the Persians,* vol. 1. p. 210
- Selgeneses offer Assistance to Alexander,* vol. 1. p. 139
- Semiramis built Babylon,* vol. 1. p. 265
- Separate Camp of Malecontents form'd by Alexander,* vol. 2. p. 13
- Serpents in India,* vol. 2. p. 118, 119
- Sestus City,* vol. 1. p. 89
- Ships order'd to be built by Alexander,* vol. 2. p. 118
- Shouts before Battel, us'd by Persians and Macedonians,* vol. 1. p. 170
- Sickness in Alexander's Army,* vol. 1. p. 263
- Sida, Metropolis of Pamphylia,* vol. 1. p. 138
- Sidetæ submit to Alexander,* vol. 1. p. 138
- Sigeum Port,* vol. 1. p. 90
- Simmius accus'd of the Conspiracy with Philotas,* vol. 2. p. 2
- Sisimethres had Children by his own Mother,* vol. 2. p. 64
- Surrenders his Countrey to Alexander,* p. 65
- Commended and presented by Alexander,* p. 72
- Sifines kill'd upon Suspicion,* vol. 1. p. 164

The INDEX.

<i>Six Towns built,</i>	vol. 2. p. 49
<i>Skins stuff'd with Straw, to pass a River,</i>	vol. 2. p. 25
<i>Sobij Indians,</i>	vol. 2. p. 132
<i>Sodomites banish'd by Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 131
<i>Sogdiana,</i>	vol. 2. p. 23, 47
<i>Subdu'd,</i>	p. 55
<i>Sogdians, their Contempt of Death and Generosity,</i>	vol. 2. p. 47
<i>Soldier sav'd by Alexander,</i>	vol. 2. p. 72
<i>Soldiers dismiss'd and sent home,</i>	vol. 2. p. 26
<i>Strive who shall carry Alexander,</i>	p. 30
<i>Soli City taken by Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 162
<i>Sons of Macedonian Nobility, how they serv'd the King,</i>	vol. 2. p. 79
<i>Soothsayers their various Interpretation of Dreams,</i>	vol. 1. p. 150
<i>Sophites Indian King,</i>	vol. 2. p. 120
<i>Sopolis, Father to the Traitor Hermolaus,</i>	vol. 2. p. 83.
<i>Sostratus conspires to murder Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 80
<i>Sparta only preserv'd its Liberty against King Philip,</i>	vol. 1. p. 26
<i>Spartans suspected by Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 76
<i>Speech of Pytho, the Byzantine, to the Bœotians,</i>	vol. 1. p. 29
<i>Of the Deputies of the Allies to them,</i>	p. 34
<i>Of Demosthenes to them,</i>	p. 35
<i>Of King Philip in the Assembly of all Greece,</i>	p. 43
<i>Of Alexander to his Council, at his Accession to the Throne,</i>	p. 51
<i>Of Alexander to the Council advising him to marry,</i>	p. 82
<i>Of Memnon to the Persians,</i>	vol. 1. p. 93
<i>Of the Persians in Answer to him,</i>	p. 95
<i>Of Alexander, against his Fleet engaging the Persian,</i>	p. 117
<i>Of Ephialtes for attacking of the Macedonians,</i>	p. 126

The INDEX.

<i>Of Charidemus to Darius,</i>	p. 148, 149
<i>Of Philip the Physician to Alexander, and his Answer,</i>	p. 160
<i>Of Darius, in Defence of the Greeks,</i>	p. 164
<i>To them,</i>	p. 165
<i>Of Alexander before the Battel in Cilicia,</i>	p. 170
<i>Of Sisymbria to Alexander,</i>	p. 180
<i>Of Alexander to the Tyrian Ambassadors,</i>	p. 192
<i>Of an Ambassador of Darius to Alexander,</i>	p. 232
<i>Of Parmenio advising Alexander to make Peace</i>	p. 234
<i>Of Alexander in Answer to the Ambassadors of Darius,</i>	p. 234
<i>Of Parmenio, in Council, before the Battel of Arbella,</i>	p. 240
<i>Of Alexander in Answer to it,</i>	Ib.
<i>Of Alexander, before the Battel of Arbella,</i>	p. 245
<i>Of Darius after his Defeat at Arbella,</i>	p. 261, 262
<i>Of mangled Greeks consulting what to ask of Alexander,</i>	p. 283
<i>Of Darius to his Council near Ecbatana,</i>	p. 292
<i>Of Nabarzanes designing to betray Darius,</i>	p. 294
<i>Of Patron the Greek, to Darius,</i>	p. 299
<i>Of Darius in Answer to him,</i>	p. 300
<i>Of Bessus the Traitor, to Darius,</i>	p. 301
<i>Of Darius when dying,</i>	p. 308
<i>Of Alexander to his Generals, upon the Army's desiring to return home.</i>	p. 319
<i>Of those Officers, in Answer,</i>	p. 320
<i>Of Alexander to his Army, encouraging them to proceed,</i>	Ib.
<i>Of Craterus, against Philotas,</i>	p. 343
<i>Of Alexander to the Army, on the Conspiracy of Dymnus,</i>	p. 346
<i>Of Philotas to the Army in his own Defence,</i>	p. 352
<i>Of Belon against Philotas,</i>	p. 357
<i>Of Alexander against Amyntas and Simmias,</i>	vol. 2. p. 2.
<i>Of</i>	

The INDEX.

<i>Of Alexander discharging Amyntas and Polemon,</i>	P. 9
<i>Of Alexander to Polydamas,</i>	Ib.
<i>Of Bessus to his Followers,</i>	p. 17
<i>Of Cobares to Bessus,</i>	p. 18
<i>Of Spitamenes delivering Bessus to Alexander,</i>	p. 28
<i>Of Alexander to Bessus, and his Answer,</i>	Ib.
<i>Of Alexander to his Council at the Tanais,</i>	p. 35
<i>Of the Scythian Ambassadors to Alexander,</i>	p. 40
<i>Of Alexander for gaining an inaccessible Rock,</i>	p. 50
<i>Of Alexander grieving for having kill'd Clitus,</i>	p. 62
<i>Of Cleo for honouring of Alexander,</i>	p. 76
<i>Of Callisthenes against those Honours,</i>	p. 77
<i>Of the Traitor Hermolaus, when taken,</i>	p. 84
<i>Of Alexander in Answer to him,</i>	p. 86
<i>Of Alexander upon engaging Porus,</i>	p. 112
<i>To his Army after that Victory,</i>	p. 117
<i>To encourage his Army to proceed in the Conquest of India,</i>	p. 124
<i>Of Cænus, for the Army refusing to proceed,</i>	p. 128
<i>Of the mutinous Macedonians,</i>	p. 134
<i>Of Alexander to the mutinous Army,</i>	p. 135
<i>Of Craterus to Alexander, about his rash exposing himself,</i>	p. 143
<i>Of Alexander in Answer to the affectionate Advice of his Generals,</i>	p. 144
<i>To his mutinous Macedonians,</i>	p. 175
<i>To his Asiatics,</i>	p. 178
<i>Of Alexander dying,</i>	p. 184
<i>Of Perdiccas to the Officers, after Alexander's Death,</i>	p. 190
<i>Of Meleager against Perdiccas succeeding Alexander, and for plundering the Treasure,</i>	p. 191

The INDEX.

<i>Desires to lie with him,</i>	p. 332
Theagenes, <i>General of the Thebans,</i>	vol. 1. p. 41
Thebans, <i>Friends to the Macedonians,</i>	vol. 1. p. 28
<i>Turn on a sudden against them,</i>	p. 41
<i>Subdu'd by King Philip,</i>	p. 43
<i>Murder Alexander's Officers,</i>	p. 64
<i>Excite others to do the same,</i>	p. 65
Thebes taken by Alexander and destroy'd,	vol. 1. p. 68
<i>Rebuilt,</i>	p. 72
Themiseyra Plains,	vol. 1. p. 331
Thermodon River,	lb.
Theffaly subdu'd by Alexander,	vol. 1. p. 53
Theffalians, <i>brave Horse,</i>	vol. 1. p. 102
Thrace invaded by Alexander,	vol. 1. p. 56
<i>Almost lost,</i>	p. 171
Thracian Captain slain by a Woman,	vol. 1. p. 69
Thracians revolt, and are subdu'd by Alexander,	vol. 1. p. 23
Throne of Persia,	vol. 1. p. 270
Thymodes, <i>Commander of the Greeks under Darius,</i>	vol. 1. p. 150
Tide in a River amazes the Macedonians,	vol. 2. p. 156
Tigris River,	vol. 1. p. 223 & 225
Timæus kill'd defending Alexander,	vol. 2. p. 139
Timoclea spar'd at Thebes for her Vertue,	vol. 1. p. 69
Timotheus, <i>a Musician,</i>	vol. 1. p. 18
Tiridates delivers Darius's Treasure to Alexander,	vol. 1. p. 281
Tomb of Cyrus, <i>nothing found in it,</i>	vol. 2. p. 169
<i>Of Hephæstion, cost twelve thousand Talents,</i>	vol. 2. p. 182
Towns in India taken,	vol. 2. p. 119

Traytors

The INDEX.

<i>Traytors, their Kindred punish'd among the Macedonians,</i>	vol. 2. p. 83
<i>Traytor justly punish'd,</i>	vol. 1. p. 184
<i>Trallians submit to Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 108
<i>Treasure of Darius deliver'd to Parmenio,</i>	vol. 1. p. 182
<i>Found at Susa,</i>	p. 270
<i>At Persepolis,</i>	p. 286
<i>At Persagadæ,</i>	p. 287
<i>Treas in India,</i>	vol. 2. p. 118
<i>Triballi take a Booty from King Philip,</i>	vol. 1. p. 25
<i>Defeated by Alexander,</i>	p. 27
<i>Tribute in Asia impos'd by Alexander, the same as had been paid to Darius,</i>	vol. 1. p. 104
<i>Troglodytes,</i>	vol. 1. p. 217
<i>Troy,</i>	vol. 1. p. 91, & 103
<i>Tyre sends Presents to Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 192
<i>Difficult access to it,</i>	p. 193
<i>Besieg'd,</i>	p. 196 & seq.
<i>Inhabitants send their Wives and Children to Carthage,</i>	p. 200
<i>Taken and burnt,</i>	p. 204
<i>Account of it,</i>	p. 205
<i>Tyrians, two thousand of them crucify'd,</i>	vol. 1. p. 205
<i>Tyriotes, an Eunuch, escapes to Darius with the News of his Queen's Death,</i>	vol. 1. p. 230

V.

<i>Veneration of Macedonians for their Kings,</i>	vol. 1. p. 161
<i>Veteran Soldiers honour'd by Alexander,</i>	vol. 2. p. 181
<i>Victory of Macedonians over Barbarians,</i>	vol. 1. p. 7
<i>Over the Thracians,</i>	p. 56
	Over

The INDEX.

<i>Over the Triballi,</i>	p. 58
<i>Over the Getæ,</i>	Ib.
<i>Over the Illyrians,</i>	p. 63
<i>Over the Persians, at the River Granicus.</i>	p. 98
<i>Over Persians, at Halicarnassus,</i>	p. 162
<i>Over Darius in Cilicia,</i>	p. 172
<i>Three obtain'd by Alexander's Lieutenants,</i>	p. 191
<i>At Sea,</i>	Ib.
<i>At Arbella,</i>	p. 257
<i>Over the Scythians,</i>	vol. 2. p. 45
<i>Uxians,</i>	vol. 1. p. 272

W.

<i>Walls of Babylon,</i>	vol. 1. p. 265
<i>War declar'd by Alexander against the Carthaginians,</i>	vol. 1. p. 205
<i>Water of the Sun,</i>	vol. 1. p. 218
<i>Water drank immoderately kills many Men,</i>	vol. 2. p. 25
<i>Way made through Rocks by Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 53
<i>Wealth of Persian Monarchs,</i>	vol. 1. p. 88
<i>Wedding of Cleopatra, Alexander's Sister, and the King of Epirus,</i>	vol. 1. p. 48
<i>Whales seen, superstitious Conceits about it,</i>	vol. 1. p. 202
<i>Wild Beasts, four thousand of them at once kill'd in a Wood,</i>	vol. 2. p. 56
<i>Wife saying of Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 114
<i>Wise Men of India,</i>	vol. 2. p. 93
<i>Woman look'd upon as mad, saves the Life of Alexander,</i>	vol. 2. p. 81
<i>Women at Babylon lewd,</i>	vol. 1. p. 267
<i>Words of the Priestess of Apollo accidentally spoken, taken for no Oracle by Alexander,</i>	vol. 1. p. 55

The INDEX.

X.

Xanthus River,
Xenippa River,

vol. 1. p. 131
vol. 2. p. 63

Z.

Zeliti *pardon'd* by Alexander
Zioberis River,

vol. 1. p. 104
vol. 1. p. 324

FINIS.



THE INDEX

ERRATA.

Vol. I. **P**AGE 6. Line 12. for *Aristander ac*, read *Aristander accounted*. p. 12. l. 13. not to be more, r. to be more. p. 16. l. antepenult. for *onl*, r. *only*. p. 29. l. 26. to whose, r. on whose. p. 55. l. penult. for *Amyhipolis*, r. *Amphypolis*. *Illyrium* p. 60. and in others, r. *Illyricum*. p. 78. l. 1. for *Cadmanus*, r. *Codomanus*. p. 93 l. 15 for *Parmeris*, r. *Parmenio*. p. 203. l. 13. for *Cinquereme*, r. a *Galley of five Men to an Oar*. p. 204. l. 32. for *Churches*, r. *Temples*.

Vol. II. p. 4. l. 4. for *Alexander*, r. *Lyncestes*. p. 20. l. 4. l. 10. for *Sodgians*, r. *Sogdians*. The same again p. 23. l. 11. p. 35. l. 22. for *Cicatrix*, r. *Scar*. p. 149. to the *Guardians*, dele. lb. l. 7. for *strait*, r. *streight*.

